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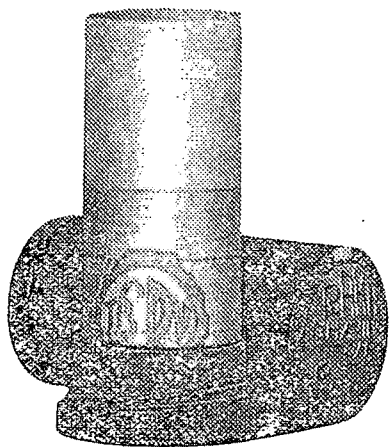
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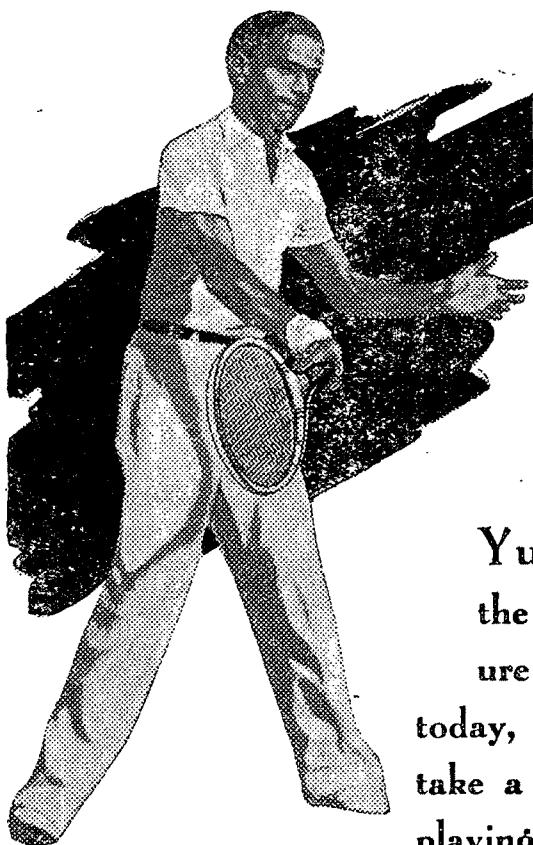
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AUGUST, 1941

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With the September issue The CALCUTTA REVIEW will complete another year of its fruitful career. The REVIEW of the outgoing year has been considered by competent authorities to have been in some respects a refreshing departure from its past, maintaining at the same time the high standard and traditions with which it has been associated since its inception.

Attempts are being made to make the REVIEW a better and brighter journal from the beginning of the new year. It will delight our readers to know that we have been able to rally round ourselves a good number of contributors, eminent in public life and in their respective spheres of activities, all over the world.

The OCTOBER issue, the first of the New Year, will be a special one, in which there will be included articles together with illustrations from some eminent literary celebrities of India.

Our subscribers are earnestly requested to renew their subscriptions in course of this month. Those who do not, however, intend to continue as subscribers should intimate their unwillingness to this office on or before the 10th September, 1941. For convenience sake subscribers are requested to send their subscriptions by *Postal Money Order* so as to reach us by the end of this month. Otherwise, the REVIEW for October will be sent per V. P. P. for Rs. 7-10, which, when refused, causes unnecessary loss and inconvenience to the management.

SENATE HOUSE,
Calcutta University.

B. KOYAL,
MANAGER,
The Calcutta Review.

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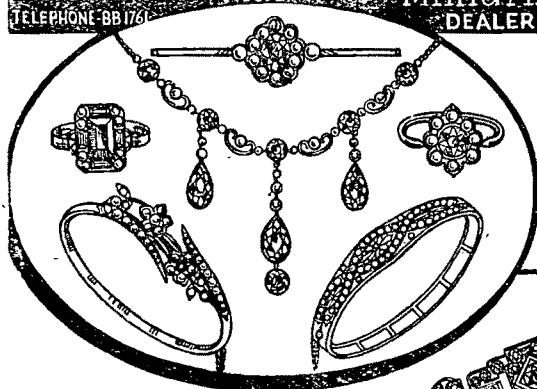
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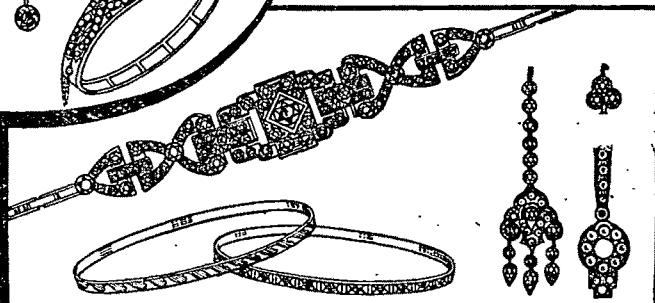
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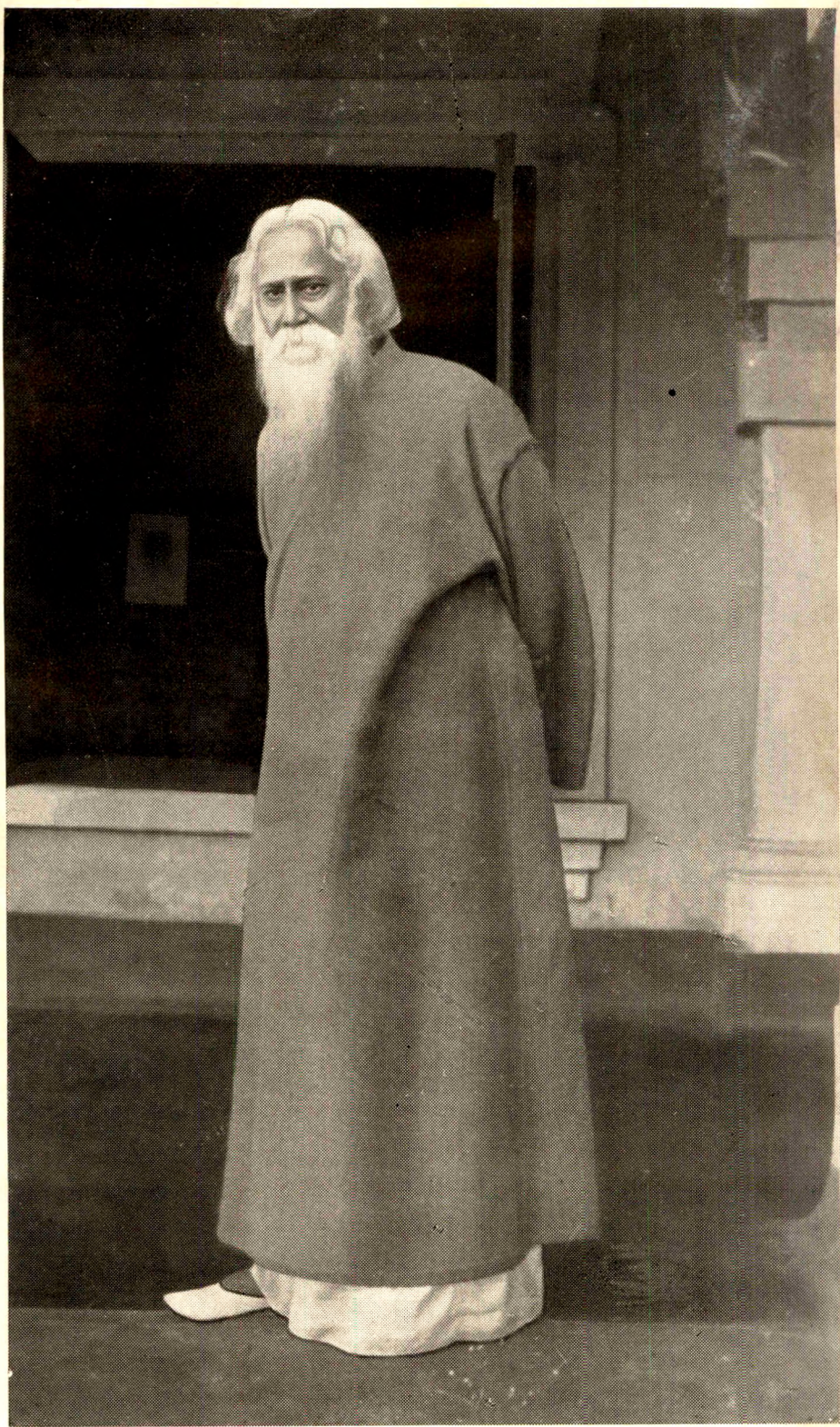
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1941

THE INDIAN POLITICAL CRISIS

SIR A. P. PATRO, K.C.I.E., Kt.

IT is significant to observe that even the "Indian National Committee" from London sent an appeal to India that in view of the military situation involving a threat to Indian security pressed upon the Leaders of Parties to revise their present barren policies and suggested an intensification of the effort for the formation of a "National Government" and the Defence of India and War Effort should be the first consideration of the national government. This message, however, did not define the scope and structure of "National Government". The charm of the expression seems to lie in its vagueness. The Council of Liberal Federation is reported to have expressed recently grave concern in regard to the war situation as it has developed and is developing in Europe and recognised that it is full of peril for India. "India's political progress was possible only if democracies emerge successfully from the war, and India should co-operate whole-heartedly in the war effort." While expressing these sentiments in the resolution, the council at the same time demanded that with a view to a psychological atmosphere for mobilising to the maximum pitch the resources of India in men and material, the immediate formation of "National Government" in the centre will enable India to organise her defences effectively for the war. There are the proposals made at an earlier meeting of

some leading non-Congressmen held at Bombay where a resolution demanding similar measures was adopted. The essential feature of the discussions is that there should immediately be a complete transfer of power to Indian members of the Government of India which should be wholly Indian though the members may still be responsible to the Crown and not to the Legislatures. The position of the Provincial Units is left uncared for. It is the case of all or many Indians that power should gradually be vested in India and the aim and object of the Government of India should be Government in India, for India and by India. The whole process of evolution is necessarily in rapid stages if it is not to be a revolution creating chaos and confusion without the required power behind in the country itself to control all obstacles and difficulties. The intricacies of the Indian situation should be more fully realised by Indians themselves.

The important problem is to whom the power should be transferred by the British ? This must be adjusted as a preliminary among ourselves. Textbook writers and theorists unacquainted with India's economic, social and political structure may advance plausible theories but the actual experience of the working of the Indian Local Self-Government or the Provincial Administrations during the last few years give us a different impression. It is indeed the right of every people to have a Government suited to its genius. The peoples of India of varying degrees of intellectual and moral attainments must have possibilities of development and growth to be able to exercise or take up rights and responsibilities. It is not only a problem of minorities or of backward majorities or majorities supervened by a dominant religious minority. The question, therefore, that faces every thinking Indian is, what are the chances of arriving at an agreement among ourselves? Gandhiji said definitely that the time had not yet come for any adjustment or settlement among ourselves. Mr. Jinnah's points are before the public. They could be met with good will on both sides. The question of Independence or Pakistan does not now arise during the *interim period*. It is a calamity that no common policies were devised to bring the two Leaders together to work a united constitutional and political plan. Both are earnest and sincere patriots and desire that the Government of India should be for the people and by the people, though Gandhiji has his unshaken faith in non-violence and *charkha*.

The path of *Swaraj* lies not through non-co-operation (*Satyagraha*) and self-aggrandisement of any political organisation but mainly and

eventually lies through co-operation and service. To run away from the post of duty to the people whose support was sought in order to serve their interests and advance their cause, is a breach of faith and is a treachery. The attempts to return candidates uncontested are a direct negation of democratic or Parliamentary right and proves that India is not fit for the democracy of the British form. It is said that in this Presidency the percentage of uncontested elections to Local Bodies was about 54 per cent. in 1939-40 and about 45 per cent. in 1938-39. The uncontested elections indicate strong apathy on the part of the public and a menace to growth of democracy or self-reliance. An uncontested Election is a denial to or refusal by Electorates of their right to pass judgments on the merits of individuals and policies." It is very discouraging to notice that "the Administration Reports of more than one province are full of evidence that there has been a serious deterioration in the working of many local bodies all over the country. One reason, among others is the introduction of party politics into local administrations. The true interests of the local board are subordinated to the tyranny of party politics. The Congress in dealing with the Local Board Administration issued a new set of rules superseding all the previous ones. If any *Satyagrahi* in the approved list who took pledge not willing to offer *Satyagraha* he is at liberty to withdraw his pledge and subject himself to be removed from the Congress party. This again is to drive Congressmen to plough the sands.

The greatest need of the hour is to do everything by every individual to help the war for a successful end to defeat Nazism, all things from the supply of men, money munitions to defeat the murderous march of Nazism. It will be disastrous to us if we fail in this essential duty.

What is the cause of this Satyagraha movement? It is said to be primarily for the freedom of speech, and that the demands of Mr. Gandhi were not accepted by the British Government.—What is the scope of freedom of speech, to preach against every war effort, to dissuade people from enlisting themselves or encourage the same and to preach against the people contributing funds to the war aid. In other words, apart from the theory of pacifism, the practical effect is to give liberty to Congressmen to preach against Government in India and in England in their war efforts. It is a most thoughtless and perilous demand which no responsible public or Government could agree to. This has caused the exit of Congress from the Legislatures

which they entered to do constructive work to re-build India, redress the grievances and elevate the people within the limitations of Constitution Act of 1935. "The solemn pledges and successful administrations" were thrown to the winds. No doubt they entered into the councils, as they said then in 1937, in order to wreck the constitution but were slaves of power and were fully intoxicated in their positions only to be thrown out at the earliest possible moment. The two and half years of Congress regime left heavy legacy of taxation, intrigue and confusion. The people in the Provinces really felt a relief though they do not favour the bureaucratic rule of officials which is undermining all sense of self-respect and self-reliance among the people. It is a disappointing spectacle of the Congress ministries surrendering their position and power to the rule of Section 93 of the Act. It is not yet too late to regret and reconsider the position and recall *Satyagraha*. The provincial Units working on sound lines could compel the centre to be more easily reconstructed. It is hoped that practical wisdom will soon dawn on those responsible for this debacle While Rome is burning, Nero is fiddling.

Gandhiji, writing about the scope of the Act constituted in 1935 in the *Harijan* of July 24, 1937, under the caption "The Fundamental Difference," said, "A vast opportunity is at the disposal of the ministers in the terms of the Congress objective of complete independence if only they are honest, selfless, industrious, vigilant, solicitous for the true welfare of starving millions. No doubt there is a great validity in the argument that the Government of India Act of 1935 has left the ministers no money to spend on nation-building Departments. But this is largely an illusion. I believe with Sir Daniel Hamilton that labour and not metal is real money. Labour backed up by paper is, as good as, if not better than paper backed by labour. Whereas formerly ministers were amenable to the control of Government, now they are under the control of the Congress. The Governors and the Civil Services though irremovable are yet answerable to the ministers, ministers have effective control over them up to a point. That point enables them to consolidate the power of the congress, that is, the people. The ministers have the whip hand so long as they act within the four corners of the Act, no matter how distasteful their action may be to Governors. It will be found upon examination that so long as the people work non-violently Congress ministers have enough freedom of action for national growth."

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After the lucid exposition of definite views on the working of the Act of 1935, it is a tragedy that the Provincial ministries were directed by an outside agency not responsible to legislatures or votes to withdraw. This is not the fault of the Government of India or of Great Britain but the full responsibility is on the working Committee of the Congress. The fundamental principle of democratic Government is that the individual and the representatives of the individual should have an effective voice in the Government of the country. The Congress majorities in the country created anxious situations and became a menace to public peace and danger to impartial administration because every mole hill passed off for a mountain and every bramble bush for a forest. Democratic form of Government could work only when there was an effective opposition. It is a failure where there is no valid opposition. The majority becomes a machine, an automatic body to register the view of the executive. It is the executive that legislates; a herd mentality is developed, independent thinking is discredited and even the intelligent and the educated are subjected to this disease: follow the herd, the bell-wether, has been the rule of conduct. In these conditions one party is growing towards autocracy and dictatorship.

The memorandum issued by some members of British Parliament recorded that the British people desire that the advance towards Indian political freedom should be made as rapidly as possible. Realities, however, must be faced. India will certainly appreciate, they say, that *it is hardly possible for the British Government to take part in a complicated constitutional settlement in the midst of war*. The war must not be made an excuse for an indefinite delay. We are clear that the new constitution *must be set up immediately after the war and we think the interval ought not to be a mere blank period*. Why not Indians get together? Is it not possible to find men in India with the necessary qualifications who will agree to settle down together to a period of hard work, striving to design the framework of a plan which will be the best not merely for one community or party or political organisation or class or caste but for India as a whole and for her forty crores of people. In regard to the *interim* scheme the memorandum said "*It seems to be very right and natural that India should desire Indian political representatives to be associated more fully than under the present constitution and decisions taken by the Government of India as regards India's share in the war. It believes that this could be provided by arrangement as a temporary incident. If*

these suggestions reflect the well-considered views of the British Parliament, they are to be considered seriously by the British Government. It seems to me that the proposals made in the declaration of August 8, 1940 by the Viceroy, provide an arrangement for a working basis subject to certain modifications. The proposals were rejected by all parties in India even without a careful study of its implications because the moment after announcement criticisms were rushed over. Let us examine the proposals of the Poona resolution or the resolution of some non-Congressmen passed at Bombay or of the Liberal resolutions. The difference lies in this that the resolutions demanded immediate transfer of responsibility of administration of defence, of foreign relations, and of finance. These must be handed over some time or other to Indians themselves is admitted but the problem is that at present these subjects entail the inter-relations of the Government of India and the Indian States who are governed by the terms of the Treaties and Covenants entered into with the Crown and in the matter of defence and foreign relations, the obligations of British India towards India must be maintained. The change requires consent of the Princes. In the other details of a cabinet form of Government the Viceroy seems to have clarified the position that the decisions of the ministers would bind the Government, the members having joint responsibility in action. The Bombay meeting agreed that the members may be responsible to the Crown and the Viceroy and not to the Legislature. On the fundamentals there seems to be no great divergence of view. The offer analysed would prove that it is a far-reaching scheme as far as it goes, not without facilities which can be expanded. It was declared that His Majesty's Government's objective for India has been more clear than full Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety and their concern was to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the Dominion State. The Dominion Status of Westminster variety is virtually Independence as is in South Africa or Canada, *vide* the Act. The fact is there should be mutual trust between Britain and India greater than at present, closer contact is bound to attract each other in a more chastened spirit and trustful mind.

Gandhiji is a great power in the Congress. He is virtually a Dictator of Congress of *Ahimsa* variety. There could be found no other Leader for the Congress Party when he gave up his place during the debate on Poona scheme of reforms. The Congress had gone on bended knees and offered him the same position as head

of the Party. The peculiarity in him is that he is of the Congress and not in the Congress. Where is another personality in the Congress who combines religious, cultural and political attractions in his person? Few people in the rural areas know of the Congress but the spiritual personality of Gandhiji, to them he is an *avatar*, of supernatural infallibility. Truth and *Ahimsa*, he believes, are the great weapon against war, aggression, and violence in any form and do form part of his creed. This has led to paralysis of action in the Congress. The public are getting tired of these slogans. A feeling of strong dissatisfaction is manifest in the country. The recent terrible instances indicate which way the wind is blowing. It is a natural consequence of all autocracies anywhere. A strong reaction has set in against Gandhism. Intelligentsia disapprove this doctrine of *Satyagraha* as an effective remedy. But what is the alternative, it is that which is suppressing the intense outburst among the minds of the Congressmen or the others. What next is the problem for the Congress, *Satyagraha* having failed disastrously to achieve the end. A joint strong constructive programme must be devised to work it in everyday life and activity. There should be a change from the present to a fresh vigorous move, party arrogance must vanish.

The position stands thus: Gandhiji proposed immediate independence for India and a constitution to be framed by a constituent assembly by adult franchise. Mr. Jinnah would ask for solution of the constitutional difficulty by grouping together allied races and communities and would want freedom for such states thus prepared. His position was clarified in his speech before the Legislative Assembly, "We divide the problem of India into two parts, the present and the future. As for the when the time comes to change the whole constitution we shall then discuss varying schemes. We believe in Pakistan. As for the present our position is that we are willing only for the prosecution of war successfully to co-operate in forming a government within the framework of this constitution. Our present quarrel with the Government is that the Moslem League is not given substantial share in the government both at the centre and in the provinces." Speaking before the Punjab Assembly Sir Sikander Hayat Khan said that his scheme visualised complete autonomy for Units and the establishment of a centre to co-ordinate the work of various Units, especially for defence, customs and currency. It would be criminal folly for India to cut adrift from the Commonwealth at

a time when they stood the need of protection from external aggression which Britain alone could give them. The future destiny of India lay in accepting a position of freedom within the British Commonwealth. Wise words of a practical statesman. The Poona resolution was shown to meet with many difficulties without an immediate modification of the Constitution Act ; the Bombay proposal has the merit of practicability if there be agreement even among all non-Congressmen, a Government of all talents without regard to parties and following. The scheme, however, leaves the vital units of provinces out of question. These must be taken up at once. The proposal of August 8 of the Viceroy contains possibilities of a settlement of internal problems provided India seriously takes up with the assistance of Government. Gandhiji is reported to have said that the time has not yet arrived for such a settlement. Thus we are moving round a circle by the apathy and unwisdom of the leaders of the country. Undeterred by the past, the British Government and the Viceroy may still take another step to bring together the Congress and the League leaders and if any one of them declines or is unable to agree, there are ways of proceeding further with the other and give effect to his declaration modified by the advice of the leaders of public opinion in the country. It may not be possible that a non-party Government could be set up as required in the above resolutions at Bombay. The British Government find difficulties but it is also their duty to solve them and render substantial help to meet Indian aspirations by conceding a large portion at least. The main factor is to start somewhere, when it is admitted the present Government at the centre is unsatisfactory for war effort. It is impossible that any scheme would be universally approved. There may be criticisms and reviews against any political plan ; nevertheless another serious attempt at solution is worth making in the interests of avoiding suspicion and conflict in the country and to strengthen confidence among all people. It is fundamentally necessary that all Parties in India, Hindu, Moslem and others, should realise this responsibility and join hands together so that their united power and strength may enable them to tide over the present crisis and prepare the way for the next immediate stage.

MILITARY EDUCATION

G. M. JADHAV

IN 1914 I wrote that there should be Military Colleges, Naval Colleges and Air Force Colleges in India for training Indian military, naval and air force officers. I had also suggested that Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen should be selected from the different parts of India in a definite proportion and that there should be no such artificial nonsense as martial and non-martial races in India. Every Indian is a born defender of India. This is a fact which Indians themselves must realise as soon as possible. To create a national army, navy and airforce was the idea I had mooted in 1914.

For the Central Military College in India I had suggested the following plan :

100 clever graduates to be selected each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Punjab.

50 clever graduates to be selected each from Assam, Orissa, C.P. and Berar, Sind and N.W.F.P.

150 clever graduates to be selected from the Indian states.

This would have brought together 1000 clever young men from different parts of India. I would have included 50 clever graduates from Burma, and invited 50 graduates from China, 50 from Japan and 50 from Afghanistan and 50 from Persia every year to attend the courses of the Central Military College and also a certain number of students from other foreign countries. The advantage of contact with these students from foreign countries is obvious. Our Indian students could gain much by this contact.

TWO YEARS' COURSE

Subjects :—

1. Employment of the various arms
2. Military History.
3. Military Geography.
4. Administration.
5. Legislation.
6. Topography.

7. Infantry and Artillery Munitions and Firing.
8. Artillery.
9. Engineering.
10. Aviation.
11. Applied Sciences.
12. Military Hygiene.
13. Languages.

During the first year the course should cover in a general but elementary fashion all the subjects which in the second year should be more fully developed. The object set out should be that at the end of his first nine months' work a cadet should get a fair notion of what is indispensable to an infantry officer in a campaign ; during the second year's course this notion should be more fully developed and its application explained on the terrain, with the idea of giving clear conceptions as to the different phases of the offensive and defensive battle.

By far the largest amount of time and weight for class standing should be assigned to two subjects: The employment of the various arms and military history and geography.

Military history and geography: These two subjects should be taught in close co-ordination with the employment of various arms, the object should be to bring out the permanent principles of the art of war by showing what ensues by obeying them, or disregarding them, and the influence of the terrain upon these principles. The evolution of methods during the last two centuries should be studied in a general way, while those resulting from the 1914-18 war and the war which began in 1939 should be brought out in greater detail.

Military history and geography are important subjects. Good books are available which tell us how we should study and teach these subjects.

In military geography the following lectures should be given :—

1. Method of studying a theatre of operations.
2. Application of this method to various wars in India.
3. A careful study of the different battlefields in India.

Military history. " But in whatever way we may study military history, whether we try to discover the great fundamental principles of all warfare, or try—like the scientist with his microscope—to

trace the minutest details of events, we must always comply with the dictates of stringent impartial and comprehensive investigation, if we wish to arrive at useful results." (On War of Today by Bernhardt, Vol. 1, page 50).

"The lectures upon military history offer the most effective means of teaching war during peace, and of awakening a genuine interest in the study of important campaigns. These lectures should bring into relief the unchangeable fundamental conditions of good generalship in their relation to changeable tactical forms, and should place in a true light the influence of eminent characters upon the course of events and the weight of moral forces in contrast to that of mere material forces." These lectures must not degenerate into a mere succession of unconnected descriptions of military occurrences. They must regard events in their causal connections, must concern themselves with the leadership, and must at the same time bring out the ideas of war peculiar to each age. They will acquire a high value if the teacher succeeds in bringing into exercise the judgment of his pupils."

"This judgment, however, must never degenerate into mere negative criticism, but must clothe itself in the form of distinct suggestion as to what ought to have been done and decided." (The Brain of an Army by Spenser Wilkinson).

I read "The Brain of an Army" by Spenser Wilkinson in 1913. I think the book is now out of print. I hope Constable and Co., will publish this interesting book again.

We must study military history in an impartial and scientific manner. Our mind must be free from prejudice and preconceived bias. Marshal Foch, Moltke and others have told us how we should study and teach military history.

In 1914 I gave a complete plan as to what subjects should be taught and how they should be taught to the cadets of the Central Military College, Bangalore. I suggested Bangalore as a suitable place because at Vizagapatam there should be ship-building yard and Central Naval College. The military cadets should go to the Central Naval College and mix with the naval cadets. At Bangalore there should be airplane factory and also Central Aviation College. The military officers should know something about naval affairs and also aviation. The three services—military, naval and airforce—should learn to co-operate from the very beginning. They should not

be three different water-tight compartments. Army, navy and airforce officers must learn the value and importance of sincere co-operation.

Such have been my plans and ideas since 1914. And what do I find in 1941? I had prepared the plan of the Bihar Military School. The Central Government and the Bihar Government sabotaged that plan. Every day we read in the papers that Britain is fighting for democracy. And there is no democracy for the 400,000,000 people of India. India is not to have a national army, navy and airforce under the command of India officers. This is what we get from Britain.

For the Library of the Bihar Military School I bought books worth Rs. 2,000 (two thousand). There were Military books and some books on nature study, politics, socialism, etc. It may interest the readers to know that the I.C.S. Adviser of Bihar objected to the following books and that money was deducted from my salary to pay for the books. I give the names of the 18 books:

1. Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries.
2. Being and Doing.
3. Great Souls at Prayer.
4. Daily Strength for Daily Needs.
5. Thoughts on Personal Religion.
6. Character and Conduct.
7. The Greatest thing in the World.
8. Helps to Worship.
9. Orissan Architecture.
10. Butterfly lore.
11. Migration of Butterflies.
12. Butterflies of India.
13. Butterflies of India.
14. Congress Presidential Address, Series I.
15. Do. Do. Series II
16. The Guide to Socialism by Shaw.
17. Butterfly hunting.
18. Identification of Butterflies.

I was surprised when I received a letter from the Bihar Government asking me to explain why I had bought these books for the Bihar Military School Library. The answer I wrote must have displeased the Adviser. I explained clearly that military history (the subject I was to teach) is not a water-tight compartment. Military history

deals with the life of the people their manners, customs, social conditions, etc.

The Guide to Socialism by Shaw tells us many interesting things about the ruling classes in Britain. Who does not remember the horrors of the slums of Manchester, Birmingham, London, Leeds, Liverpool, etc. ? In my lectures on military history I would have pointed out all these things and told the students to read carefully what Shaw wrote long ago.

What freedom is there under British rule if we are not to read—The Guide to Socialism by Shaw? I hope Mr. Shaw will be interested to know that his book was not approved for the Library of the Bihar Military School by a British officer in India. This is the reward India gets and here we have the benefit of British rule in India.

Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries. When I teach military history I must point out how the British ruined Indian trade and industries. This is part of my work. I do not teach military history as a fairy tale or an uplifting story. I must point out how the British ruined Indian trade and commerce. I know I shall never be appointed Professor of Military History in a Government College. To tell the truth is a crime Then why teach history or military history ?

It is difficult to understand why a Christian Adviser should object to books numbers 2 to 8 written by Christians. I would like the students of the Military School to read what Christianity preaches and what the I.C.S. Christians do in India. No other people have robbed India so systematically, mercilessly and thoroughly as the ruling classes of Britain. They have ruined Indian trade and commerce, they have killed Indian shipping and banking, they have done everything to bring poverty and misery to India. For whose benefit are the railways in India ? Look at the railway management in Japan and compare it with that in India. Think of the misery of the third class passengers.

Now I come to books on butterflies. I wonder if the Adviser was ever a small boy or he became an I.C.S. demi-god the very moment he was born. How delightful it is to watch the butterflies and big moths. Nature-study is full of interest and we find that a British officer objects to books on butterflies. Poor devil. There must be something wrong somewhere when a man goes out of his way to object to books on butterflies. Perhaps a few books about the life of the

English Court would have been considered quite good and harmless for the students of the Literary School.

Orissan Architecture by N. K. Bose. Orissa is not far from Bihar. The architecture of a province is a good guide to the history, manners and customs of a province. It is a pity that such a simple fact is not understood by an I.C.S. officer. It is remarkable that Indian students are not to know something about the architecture of their own country. But why wonder? Do we not find in Fergusson's books on Indian architecture that some British vandals wanted to sell the marble of the Taj Mahal? That the marble was not sold because it was not a profitable business. A nation of shopkeepers ...they will remain shopkeepers.

Congress Presidential Addresses.—There are two volumes and it is difficult for Indians to understand why any I.C.S. Adviser should object to these Congress Presidential Addresses. Should not the cadets of the Bihar Military School know something about the Congress and what the different Presidents had said since so many years. It takes one's breath away when one considers that there are I.C.S. men (British brand) who object to these two important volumes. As Professor of Military History it is my duty to tell the students something about the Congress and its leaders and also about other political parties and their leaders. Military history is not a water-tight compartment. In order to make the study of military history interesting for the students one must give them a clear picture of the life of the nation and the ideals and aspirations of the people.

The explanation I gave did not satisfy the tin gods and Rs. 84-14 eighty-four annas fourteen, was deducted from my pay in March, 1941. I mention this fact specially in this article in order to show what kind of liberty we have in India.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

In 1940 I published a pamphlet called the Defence of India. I sent copies to schools and colleges in Bihar. I was Director of Military and Physical Education, Bihar, and I did my duty. If I had written a pamphlet in praise of British rule in India, I would have had no trouble from the Bihar Government. But the pamphlet, The Defence of India, did not please the Bihar Government. I was ordered to withdraw the pamphlet from the schools and colleges. I gave reasons for not withdrawing the pamphlet and I refused to

obey the Bihar Government's order. The British have done great harm to India in many ways. The fact that Indians are today unable to defend India is the greatest harm done by the British to India. From the Indian point of view there is nothing "objectionable" in my pamphlet. The Japanese Prime Minister is paid 9,600 yen per or £541-10s. The Prime Minister of Japan does more useful work for Japan than the foreign governors in India do for India. And yet some governors are paid Rs. 10,000 each per month and others Rs. 8,000 each per month. Why? Why is Indian money wasted when it is possible to have patriotic and efficient Indian governors for all the provinces and also an Indian governor general?

A Japanese general or admiral is paid 6,600 yen or £356-10s. per year. An Indian general or admiral will serve India faithfully on this salary. Indians are as patriotic as the Japanese. In 1870 Japan had no national army and no national navy. The leaders of the different clans in Japan saw clearly that the Samurai class must disappear and that all Japanese must be made equally responsible for the defence of Japan. And a national army and a navy were created in Japan. In India also it would have been possible to create a national army and a navy in 1870.

In my pamphlet, *The Defence of India*, I gave Precepts for Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen:

1. Every Indian is a born defender of India. Indians must be loyal to India.
2. Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen must be strict in observing propriety.
3. Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen must esteem valour.
4. Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen must highly value faithfulness and righteousness.
5. Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen must make simplicity of life their aim.
6. Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen must be selected from every part of India in a definite proportion so that all parts of India will be responsible for national defence.
7. "Let our object be our country, our whole country and nothing but our country."
8. "National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy and uprightness, as national decay is of individual idleness, selfishness and vice."

OUR UNIVERSITIES CAN HELP

Our universities can help the work of national defence. In their courses of studies military subjects, naval subjects and air force subjects should be included. A liking for national defence should be created. Much can be done by our universities.

GOVERNMENT MUST HELP

It is the duty of every civilised government to train the people for national defence. The foreign government in India will never feel inclined to do any real work for national defence. The British want merely a mercenary army in India. There is no real connection between the army and the national life of India. In Japan even schoolboys and girls are taken to see Japanese soldiers on the march or while drilling or at rest. The young boys and girls see the life of their soldiers, sailors and airmen. Have we ever heard of boys and girls taken to see Indian soldiers at drill or on the march? Is military education encouraged in any way in India? Every effort is made to keep the soldiers away from all contact with civilians.

The readers must have seen the full text of the pamphlet issued by the British Ministry of Information and entitled British Empire Publicity Campaign—Talking Points on India. The British ruling classes have money and they can keep on making propaganda against India while Indian soldiers are fighting for the British Empire. I hope Indians will now realise what kind of unworthy propaganda is made against India and Indians.

PROGRESS AS CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM AS THE REALITY

MAN is perfectible, *i.e.*, capable of improvement but not capable of perfection. It is sheer unthinking optimism,—if it should be described as optimism at all,—to believe that human nature will ever be untarnished by the opposites of *satya* (true), *sundara* (beautiful) and *shiva* (good). Defects and shortcomings, on the one hand, failures and miseries, on the other,—diseases, crimes, immoralities, vices, sins, wars,—are to be regarded as the permanent realities of the human destiny. At every stage of organized life or culture, nay, at every moment of individual existence man is the theatre of struggles between the polarities, *asat* (unreality) and *sat* (reality), *tamas* (darkness) and *jyoti* (light), *mrityu* (death) and *amrita* (immortality), *avidya* (ignorance) and *vidya* (knowledge). The tug-of-war is eternal. It has been going on through the ages and it is to go on as long as there is human blood functioning in a human body.

The mental, spiritual or social condition is, then, one of discord and unrest. No stage of the *psyche* can be envisaged as one of harmony, concord or equilibrium. It is a condition of unending disequilibrium, disharmony and discord that accompanies the individual and his interactions with other individuals in his onward march. War between good and evil is the eternal lot of man. And in this war no ultimate evil finally overpowers the good, and no ultimate good finally overpowers the evil. The disequilibrium marches on with man and his creativities. Evil changes its forms and so also does good. The disequilibrium, likewise, appears constantly in new guises. The remakings of the individual personality and the societal transformations are but different movements of disequilibrium from point to point. One position of disequilibrium changes for another position. But it is disequilibrium all the time. It is the different positions, stages or forms of disequilibrium in motion that constitute progress.

The most constant factor in these transformations or position-changes or form-remakings is the struggle, the war. This is the most

perhaps the only, creative agent in human life,—the war between *sat* and *a-sat*, good and evil, real and unreal, death and immortality. It is this struggle underlying disequilibria or the struggle-in-the-disequilibrium that is by nature creative or evolutive. It is because of this struggle that the good and the evil are changing their forms. The evolution of the different stages or phases of disequilibrium is to be ascribed to this struggle. Progress, then, is ultimately nothing but creative disequilibrium. It is a condition of perpetual unrest and eternal conflict between what is and what is not. No *dvanda* (conflict), no progress. The quest of progress is an adventure for insecurity and not, to use John Dewey's words, a "quest for certainty."

Something like the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic may be seen in this creative disequilibrium but without the finality of that logic. Besides, neither the idealistic monism (*advaitavada*) of Hegel nor the materialistic monism of Marx is demonstrable in my position. The *kama-kanchana-kirti-karma* complex or integration of the human *psyche*, intermental processes and interhuman relations is pluralistic as a matter of course.

In the Hegelian dialectic there is an alleged synthesis which comprises both the thesis and the antithesis. This synthesis becomes later a thesis and is confronted with a new antithesis. In the doctrine of creative disequilibrium the synthesis is more apparent than real. It is nothing more than a phase of the eternal conflicts between the thesis and the antithesis. The thesis and the antithesis, each changes its doses or forms without necessarily coming to some sort of alleged *rapprochement* or synthesis. The two orders of antithetic phenomena go on eternally from phase to phase. In case each subsequent phase be described as a synthesis in reference to a preceding phase or a thesis to a new emerging antithesis one is at liberty to do so. Creative disequilibrium,—i.e., the thesis-antithesis pattern,—in eternal evolution is the nature of progress. Those who are not satisfied without the hopes of a permanent peace and ultimate triumph of the good will perhaps consider this to be no progress at all. For, we are ever in a state of "uncertainty."

The series constituted according to the Hegelian dialectic may be exhibited by the following formula:—

1. A, Not-A, B.— $\geq$ 2. B, Not-B, C.— $>$ 3. C, Not-C, D.— $>$
4. D, Not-D, E.— $>$

The series that my creative disequilibrium envisages assumes the form of the following dialectic evolution:—

1. $A^1, \text{Not-}A^1 \longrightarrow$ 2. $A^2, \text{Not-}A^2 \longrightarrow$ 3. $A^3, \text{Not-}A^3 \longrightarrow$
4. $A^4, \text{Not-}A^4 \longrightarrow$

In the first term of the Hegelian series a something new (synthesis), B emerges out of the thesis, A and the antithesis, Not-A, and this B is said to comprise both A and Not-A. A and Not-A are in conflict. Then there seems to be a momentary pause, there is a statical condition. This statical condition represents the synthesis, the reconciliation, the peace, the security, or the *rapprochement* (B).

But in the dialectic of creative disequilibrium the first term does not introduce anything fundamentally new as a result of the relations between the thesis, A^1 and antithesis, Not- A^1 . There is no statical pause. The first term cannot be broken up into two moments, one of antecedent conflict and the other of subsequent synthesis. The thesis-antithesis conflict is ceaseless and passes on into a new conflict.

The second term in this series is A^2 *vis-à-vis* Not- A^2 . A^2 is certainly different from A^1 , and Not- A^2 is likewise different from Not- A^1 . This A^2 does not, however, necessarily have to be described as the synthesis which comprises, as in the Hegelian system, the previous A^1 and Not- A^1 . The dynamics is never broken by a statical condition of synthesis or security. The "insecurity" is incessant.

But the second term of Hegelian evolution is B *vis-à-vis* Not-B leading to C. Here B is totally different from the previous A, which already ceased to exist at the second, *i.e.*, statical phase of the first term. Naturally, then, Not-B is different from Not-A, and C, of course, is as different from B as from A.

In the world-evolution of creative disequilibrium A and Not-A are eternal. Both simply change their forms (implying also substances and contents) or degrees as $A^1, A^2 \dots A^n$ and Not- $A^2 \dots$ Not- A^n . An alleged synthesis, in case the category synthesis is to be employed at all, is in reality a conflict.

The analysis of democracy by de Tocqueville (1805-58) in *La Démocratie en Amérique* (1835) exhibits the duality of the good-evil amalgam in a striking manner. Among the principal advantages in his *bilan du bien et du mal dans la démocratie* (balance of good and

evil in democracy) are to be noted, as says Janet,¹ the development of well-being, the diffusion of culture, the progress of sociability, sympathy for human miseries, etc. But the other side of the shield,—the inconveniences of democracy which compromise its advantages,—has been stressed by him with force. The disadvantages are to be seen in the instability of the laws, mediocrity of the administrators, the abuse of uniformity, excessive demand for well-being, and last but not least, *la tendance à la tyrannie*. I am not in total agreement with this balance-sheet ; but de Tocqueville's idea that democracy is marked by mediocrity and tendency to tyranny may be noted with approval. Joseph-Barthélemy's *Le Problème de la compétence dans la démocratie* (1918) has caught the situation rightly in our times. But de Tocqueville's analysis is being exhibited as but another instance of the fact that progress can never be envisaged in terms of the good having permanently annihilated the evil. Democracy represents by all means a progress upon the stage of non-democracy, but is inevitably a condition of certain evils not known or apparent in that stage.

Every "achievement" carries with it a "problem." No consummation can be considered to be a "solution." The questions are never closed. They always remain open,—only on a new platform or in a new type. An old disease may disappear, but a new disease gets established, as we may say analogically as well as factually.

Progress consists in the fact that at every stage there is a deliberate and conscious conflict between what for the time being is supposed to be good and what is supposed to be bad and that it is as a result of this conflict that the next stage makes its appearance. There is the play of the creative intelligence and will of man at every stage. It is the operation of this intelligence and will that renders each stage of operations moral or spiritual. Hence the subsequent stage is to be taken as representing a progress. But that stage in any case is but the theatre, again, of a fresh conflict between good and evil. Under these circumstances it is doubtful if one would like to call this series of conflicts an improvement-dynamics. But progress cannot imply anything else. It is all the time a dynamic series of good-evil complexes.

There is no fixed or realizable "goal" before mankind. At every moment or stage of achievement-problem complex the human intelli-

¹ *Histoire de la Science Politique*, Vol. II (Paris, 1913), p. 736. Compare in this connection Faguet : *Le Culte de l'Incompétence* (Paris, 1911).

gence "pragmatically" selects something as desirable, as good or as *sat*. The struggle towards this *sat* and the attempt to counteract its opposite in the existing situation constitute the progress of the moment. The good, the ideal, the *sat*, the *rational*, etc., that is pragmatically pounced upon by creative man as the best, the greatest or the highest, may change from situation to situation. Today it is *laissez-faire*, tomorrow it is socialism. At one moment the highest good is partial socialization. The next moment it is perhaps totalitarian socialization, *i.e.*, communism. There is no goalfulness of a steady, continuous or evolutionary character in human destiny.

The doctrine of creative disequilibrium differs fundamentally from the theory of progress, propounded by the British sociologist, Hobhouse² (1864-1929), who may be described as the philosopher *par excellence* of progress. In his philosophy there is a "goal" of social evolution, and this goal is harmony, like Fichte's rational freedom or divine order. "Harmonious fulfilment of human capacity is the substance of happy life," as he maintains in *The Elements of Social Justice* (London, 1922, p. 27). The movement away from competition, conflict, struggle, individual struggle, group-struggle, class-struggle, international struggle, etc., and towards solidarity of all sorts, union, order and harmonious development is the mark of social progress. This is the *Leitmotif* of all the works of Hobhouse developed in diverse forms. The "ideal society" of Hobhouse is the society in which the realization of progress is complete and in which, therefore, competition and struggle, *i.e.*, forms of evil, *asat*, *adharma*, *avidya*, either do not exist or have been considerably overpowered by the forms of good, *sat*, *dharma*, *vidya*, justice, fellow-feeling, *amrita* (immortality).

The greatest single shortcoming in Hobhouse's social philosophy is that he fights shy of struggle, group-struggle and class-struggle as much and as often as he can. To an ethicist or moral propagandist or religious preacher this may be conceded. But this is a capital defect in a system of logic, psychology or philosophy with special reference to human instincts, interests, and behaviours.

While differing from him in this particular item of the theory, I am in substantial agreement in regard to many of his methods and

² *Social Development* (London, 1924). Virtually each one of Hobhouse's works is a contribution to the study of harmony.

views. Especially in regard to the pluralistic principles of social causation, rational control, relativity of progress, anti-racialism, non-biological factors, constructive socialism, and democratic liberalism Hobhouse is eminently acceptable as a pragmatic thinker.

But, further, in so far as Hobhouse considers progress and the future of mankind to be the chief and virtually the only topic of "all sociological science" he goes back to the position of social historians or historical philosophers from Herder and Condorcet to Comte and Spencer. He becomes thereby a culture-historian or a social philosopher, nay, also an ethicist with a moral and political propaganda. To this extent Hobhouse is not a modernist, *i.e.*, not a representative of analytical or formal sociology, but belongs to the old tradition of sociology as comprehensive poly-history or world-philosophy with special reference, of course, to progress and human destiny.

Leaving aside the question of the nature and scope of sociology as a science, we may point out that in the atmosphere of this creed of creative disequilibrium one will easily recall the position of the French socialist, Proudhon (1808-65). Bouglé³ has called attention to Proudhon's attitude to *le mal* (the evil), *le mauvais côté de l'histoire* (the bad side of history) which, according to Marx, *fait l'histoire* (makes history). "*Viens Satan que je t'embrasse*" (Come, Satan, that I may embrace you),—this is what Proudhon used to say. And again, "God is evil (*Dieu c'est mal*)."³ To him life is a struggle, the life of societies as that of individuals. In order to achieve progress mankind has need to be spurred on by sufferings. There is no synthesis conceivable. If there is to be universal reconciliation it can be attained only through universal opposition. The oppositions are eternal. *On ne saurait les résoudre* (they cannot be solved). At best the social forces may be balanced against each other, services for services, as goods for goods, according to the principles of exchange. But this peace keeps intact the diversity of forces like the conflict of the rams which mobilize themselves only when attacking each other.

Bouglé describes this position of Proudhon as pluralism or rather as a sort of *polythéisme philosophique* which implies that at the bottom of all reality, social as natural, there is a multitude of "irreducible and antagonistic elements." Out of this "essential anta-

³ *Socialismes Français* (Paris, 1933), pp. 143-145.

gonism" Proudhon drew profound conclusions. In order that reason may shine, he suggested that this antagonism should not be extinguished. The "mutual contradictions," the "balancing of myself by myself," "the war of ideas" are indispensable for the progress of reason. No public reason, no public spirit is possible without free, universal, ardent controversy leading up to provocation.

In the Bengali philosopher Aurobindo's ideologies it is possible to encounter touches of this disharmony and disequilibrium. Aurobindo⁴ establishes, indeed, a profound distinction between the mind and what he calls the Supermind. "To see things steadily and see them whole," says he, "is not possible to the mind; but it is the very nature of the transcendent Supermind." His conception of the Supermind is derived from the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Gita*. The theories of the *Yoga* and the *Vedanta* have gone,—along with doses of Kant, Hegel and Bergson,—to the making of some of the bases of Aurobindo's general psychology, highly idealistic as it is. But he is objective enough to analyze the mind, *i.e.*, the non-transcendental, non-indwelling, non-self revealing *psyche*. And in that non-transcendental world, *i.e.*, the sphere of the mind, "the successions of time" and the "divisions of space" are the positive data. In the first place, it is because of these successions of time that there is "change or progression," and no "perfect harmony" such as might be "coeval with other harmonies in a sort of eternal moment." Secondly, it is because of these divisions of space that there exists the "mutual relation of forms or intershock of forces. Aurobindo is then a pragmatist. He cannot be identified or confounded with any of the totalitarian transcendentalists of other times or countries.

The objective world that can be grasped by the mind exhibits the constant "succession of a developing harmony in which one strain rises out of another that preceded it and conceals in itself that which it has replaced." In the world as perceptible to the mind we witness, besides, "forms and forces that stand related to one another in an all-containing spatial extension." "An incessant succession of powers and figures of things and happenings is our vision of existence."

Whatever may be the transcendent reality, Aurobindo has no vagueness about the positive reality. In the field of space and time, *i.e.*, the field of positive reality, we come across "different potential-

⁴ *The Life Divine*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 203-05.

ties embodied, placed and related." Each potentiality has its "powers and possibilities fronting other powers and possibilities." In their appearance to the mind the successions of time become, therefore, nothing but "a working out of things by shock and struggle and not a spontaneous succession." And in so far as the mind sees only a given time and space it "views many possibilities pell-mell as more or less realizable in that time and space." The mind sees the "outer and processive laws of the parts or forms which appear to be in collision" and is quite aware of the "apparent discord." Aurobindo is positive about these collisions, discords, shocks, intershocks, struggles and pell-mell possibilities. His pragmatism is to this extent to be treated as allied to the doctrine of creative disequilibrium, which of course has nothing to do with his transcendental realities of the Supermind and functions entirely on the plane of the mind.

THE FUNCTIONING OF CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM

To give a concrete instance of the eternal dialectic of synthesisless disequilibrium we may cite the Versailles Treaty-League of Nations Complex (1919). By all means this represented a progress upon the pre-1919 conditions in the sense that the combined intelligence and will of mankind could not possibly evolve anything better at that time. But the same complex was at once found to be unsatisfactory to the world-remaking inventiveness of many men and women among the most diverse races, comprising not only the vanquished but also the victors. It had, therefore, to submit to conflicts of all sorts and it is those conflicts that have taken definite shape in the second round (September, 1939—) of the eventual hundred years' war of the twentieth century. The present war is, from the viewpoint of both sides, nothing but a war against the Versailles system.

Some of the most damaging attacks on the Versailles system came from the Anglo-American world. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (London, 1921) by the British economist, Keynes, was thoroughly anti-Versailles and outspokenly pro-German. The French Senator, Raphael-George Lévy's arguments in *La juste paix* (Paris, 1921) in favour of the Versailles Treaty in reply to Keynes's challenge produced hardly any impression in England or the U.S.A.

So far as the "national" and territorial remakings are concerned, the *dharma-adharma*, the good-evil or the rational-irrational complex

of the Versailles Treaty pattern (1919) may be indicated in the words of the American sociologist, Harry Barnes,⁵ as follows: "While the new adjustments of Europe actually reduced the repressed nationalities from about 50,000,000 to less than 20,000,000 the present set-up represents in many cases a more obviously flagrant violation of the principle of national self-determination than did the pre-war situation. The chief present repressed national groups include about 8,000,000 Germans, 3,000,000 Magyars and 1,500,000, Bulgars." Barnes is convinced that the statesmen did not handle the problem "as well as might have been done if reason and fact had prevailed." "The re-allotment of nationals was so imperfectly done that about as many centres of dissatisfaction existed after 1919 as in 1914. The thirty national states of today create almost twice as many potential causes of war as did the eighteen of 1914."

In criminology⁶ the statistician is bound to recognize the psychosocial fact that one and the same environment breeds both criminals and law-abiding persons. Besides, it is nothing extraordinary to find that one and the same person is both criminal as well as normal.

The two greatest breeding centres of criminals in all ages are, first, the family, and secondly, the street-corner or the neighbourhood. These are at the same time the foster-grounds also of virtuous and law-abiding persons. From time immemorial the scoundrel and the saint have been born and bred in the same atmosphere. The two are very often combined in one person because of the eternal duality of human nature. This would appear quite conceivable if saints and scoundrels are understood in the sense of relatively good and relatively bad persons and if it be possible to examine at first hand the day-to-day details of their social relation. Those cases of immorality, vice or sin which do not appear as cases of criminality in the sense of violation of positive law are equally fruitful in instances of treachery combined with gratefulness, ingratitude combined with generosity, hatred combined with appreciation, enmity combined with respect. Such duplicities, intrigues, treacheries constitute, of course, the very spirituality of integrations known as international diplomacy. No intrigues and falsehoods, no inter-state relations.

⁵ *The History of Western Civilization*, Vol II (New-York, 1935), pp. 607, 611.

⁶ Observations on Abul Hasanat's paper on Juvenile Delinquency at the *Bangiya Samaj-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Sociology) on June 4, 1939. See the *Bengal Police Magazine* (Calcutta), July-Sept, 1939.

Freud's category of repression must by all means be regarded as one of the greatest discoveries of the social sciences. This has a valuable bearing on the psycho-social *Gestalt*, at any rate, of Hindu widows, legally sterilized as they are. The repression, however, should not be treated as something exceptional but is a universal fact in personality among the moderns as among the ancients, in the East as well as in the West. Almost every alleged normal man and woman is at the same time abnormal and repressed or neurotic in some form or other.

Repression is not to be understood as existing solely in sex matters. There is tremendous repression at work in economic, political, social, community, group and other relations. The repressions in these social fields ought to be analyzed intensively and a new science might grow up under the name of socioanalysis. This might devote itself to the dissection of the social unconscious as distinguished from the individual unconscious studied by psychoanalysis.

A capital defect of the Freudian system is embodied in the dictum: No repression, no culture. Culture is alleged to be inevitably linked up with neurosis. This represents only a half-truth, although very important for science. It ought to be supplemented with the proposition: "No self-expression, no culture." Accordingly culture can be said to bring in its train individual as well as social health. This would be the inductive generalization of anthropology and the history of civilization through the ages.⁷

In the pre-Persian epoch (say, c. B.C. 500) the good, *dharma* or reason was represented by political freedom as prevalent in the independent states and isles of Hellas. But the evil, *adharma* or unreason was manifest in the mutual strifes between them and the consequent weakness, among other things, as against a powerful non-Hellenic foe. It was not only Athens *vs* Sparta but virtually of each against all, a veritable *Naturzustand*, the law of beasts and birds, in inter-statal relations that prevailed in the Hellenic world.

A progress was certainly achieved when the Pan-Hellenic congress was summoned at the Isthmus of Corinth (B.C. 481) and attended by 31 states. It was by all means a "league of nations," in spite

⁷ Comments on the discussion by Dr. Sarasi Sarkar about Freud on the latter's completing the eightieth year at the "*Antarjatik Banga*" Parishat ("International Bengal" Institute), Calcutta, May 24, 1936. See the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 2, 1936.

of many Hellenic states keeping aloof. The unification, although it did not last long, served to strengthen the Hellenes against the Persians. This may then be regarded as an embodiment of good, *dharma* or reason. The confederacy of Delos came out of it and grew into the Athenian Empire (B.C. 454). In so far as one focusses attention on the strength of unity as a virtue or a desirable good all this marked nothing but progress.

But what was this Athenian Empire? The nearly 200 cities, islands, or states were virtually subjects or vassals of Athens under Pericles the despot. Periclean imperialism or despotocracy was *a-dharma* incarnate. It was the embodiment of evil and unreason in the form of the negation or annihilation of freedom for the Hellenic states. These states paid "tributes" to Athens who spent the money according to her own sweet will. Besides, Pericles sent Athenian citizens to establish *cleruchies* or colonies in the territories of those states. These were the military garrisons of Athens stationed in the virtual dependencies. The Athenian Empire anticipated thereby the tactics of the Roman. Altogether, Hellenic progress as embodied in the Athenian Empire was as much an integration of *dharma* and *adharma* as the pre-Imperial condition. Only, both *dharma* and *adharma* had changed forms. Out of the pre-Imperial good-evil conditions creative disequilibrium brought into existence the good-evil pattern known as Periclean despotocracy. A new creative disequilibrium had, therefore, to be in operation in order to engender a novel pattern out of the *dharma-adharma* complex of the Athenian Empire. Therein lay the progress of the next stage, this time, again, another amalgam of good and evil.

Incidentally this fact proves, as many other facts can, that Greek culture was not all "peasant farms." It was not exclusively soulful, "instinctive." It was "Rome" too, *i.e.*, stony, heartless, cold, brutal, impregnated with intellectuality and megalopolism, the "soul of the city." "Cæsarism," which Spengler⁸ associates politically with the "civilization"-degeneracy of every "culture" and which according to him has already set in in the "Roman" conditions of the twentieth century,—was also a powerful reality in the *milieu* of Greek culture. In other words, there were many Hellases. One word, "Hellenic," cannot describe the Hellases and Hellases of ancient Europe. The type-philosophies of theorists have need to take note of these mixtures,

⁸ *Decline of the West*, Vol. II (London, 1928), pp. 431-432, 435, 506-507.

assimilations and " pragmatic " continuations in factual socio-cultural dynamics.

The reactions against the Athenian Empire are nothing exceptional. Joussain⁹ has analyzed the situations in which *la victoire s'épuise pour se transformer en défaite* (victory ends by being transformed into defeat) on account of the rupture of equilibrium which displaces the forces. The vanquished of yesterday becomes thereby often the victor of today. Revolutions and reactions succeed each other. And so on. Such phenomena happen often in history according to the ordinary laws of human passions, says he. New orders, institutions, governments or parties are compelled by the pressure of circumstances to indulge in ruthless actions. The successes, achievements or revolutions *comportent inévitablement des brutalités et des maladresses* (require brutalities and blunders inevitably). These lead necessarily to the increase of malcontents and inimical forces. Verifications can be had as much from Periclean Athens as from the world-situation under the Versailles system.

It is in this manner that creative disequilibrium functions eternally furnishing the fundamental logic of social progress. The solution that will somehow emerge out of the international conflicts of today (since September, 1939), say, about 1944, will have to be understood as the best for the time being. The reason is not that whatever is, is good, right or desirable but that entire mankind's highest efforts will have failed to produce anything more reasonable. The " synthesis " arrived at will have to be treated as the best under the circumstances and not the ideally best. But there is no finality in this solution or synthesis either. It will but register the voice of the victors and will, therefore, automatically excite the spirit of revenge among the vanquished. No mechanism can perhaps be yet devised by which the *élan* for vengeance as well as the power for vengeance may be totally annihilated.

About one or two items there can be no doubt. The fundamental problems of Asia or Africa *vis-à-vis* Eur-America are not going to be touched in the second round, as they were not touched in the first round, of the Anglo-German armageddon. Then, again, the problems of the diverse races lying between the Germanic and the Russian spheres have hardly any chance of being treated in a satisfying manner. The colonies or dependencies and quasi-colonies or

⁹ " *Le Renversement des Forces* " (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Paris, July-August, 1938).

semi-dependencies,—lying as they do not only in Asia and Africa but in Europe and America as well,—are the most effective root-causes of the Anglo-German tug-of-war. But nobody is yet in a mood to visualize these questions in a straightforward manner. Apart from many other considerations these Asian, African, and East-European as well as Balkan, nay, Latin American situations alone bid fair to be the parent of fresh dramatic disequilibria and disharmonies during the seventh or eighth decade of the present century.

Besides, humanly speaking, this solution cannot, after all, satisfy the thousand and one interests involved in the quest of world-hegemony. Conflicts will therefore be born with, and be an integral part of, the solution. The conflicting tendencies will begin to operate the very day the solution is alleged to be achieved. May be, by 1960 the volume of the day-to-day petty conflicts will have acquired a momentum powerful enough to enable creative disequilibrium to declare itself in the third round of the Armageddon. That will have to be appraised as the embodiment of further progress because, after all, nothing else could be brought into being as the combined result of the conscious efforts of a large number of thinking and active persons.

For illustrations of the functioning of creative disequilibrium we may turn our attention to the domain of socialism. Today communism is to be sharply distinguished from socialism which is perhaps a half-way house between capitalism and the former *ism*. A stage of creative disequilibrium seems to be quite in evidence in the evolution of communism. In *The Communist International* (London, 1938) F. Brokenau, as a renegade from communism, discusses the swing of the Comintern from extreme left to extreme right, especially since 1935. The communistic philosophy is no longer to be treated, says he, as a spectre haunting Europe because it has committed itself to the support of capitalism and conventional democracy. The communist parties of all countries are being derived numerically less from the factory workers than from other classes. They are not mass parties of the proletariat. It is the "labour aristocracy" and the *intelligentszia* that constitute the leading factors in communist organization. There is thus a Brahmanocracy in communism also.

All this implies that the communism of radical theory has been getting acculturated to *Realpolitik*. Compromises of all sorts with the traditional capitalistic economy as well as conventional socialism are being attempted in diverse countries. Pure communism is thus being

sophisticated with doses of non-communistic ideology. But all the same, the socio-economic structure and the political institutions are simultaneously drifting away from the old-world, *i.e.*, capitalistic and socialistic, moorings. Creative disequilibrium has been constantly functioning in order to ascertain the next higher amalgams of good and evil in the socio-economic and economico-political pattern.

The most important item in this theory of progress as consisting in nothing but creative disequilibrium is the wide-awakeness on the part of men and women in regard to the world about them. Their function is to place their fingers on whatever appear in their eyes as the evils of the moment. Their perpetual preparedness to combat these evils and try to polish them off the earth is the only form of morality or spirituality conceivable for mankind. That all these strenuousnesses and struggles fail each time to annihilate the evils or serve but to give birth to new evils in the *milieu* of new, more or less good, reasonable or desired-for situations is taken for granted in this theory. The failures belong to the very nature of progress and are not to be treated as special perils.

It is also postulated that from time to time the very standard of evaluation and judgment changes. There is no fixity or finality as to what is to be called *dharma*, good, just, true, reasonable, normal or spiritual. Similarly the very definition of *adharma*, evil, unjust, untrue, unreasonable, criminal, unspiritual, etc., is taken for granted as changing with the intermental processes and interhuman relations. It is the eternal privilege of creative, inventive or world-remaking human intelligence to establish new standards of moral and spiritual judgment, new measures of social justice, rational good, human welfare and world-progress. Indeterminateness, insecurity and uncertainty, as Dewey might say, in the standard as well as the ideal—and neither the divine or rational freedom of Fichte's *Bestimmung des Menschen* (1800) nor the harmony, justice and rational good of Hobhouse,—is the objective reward of man's *digvijaya* (world-conquest) from one socio-cultural adventure to another socio-cultural adventure.

CHRISTIANITY AND HINDU RENAISSANCE*

ANIL CHANDRA GANGULI, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

INDIA'S first messenger of Christ was, according to tradition, the apostle St. Thomas. The earliest, recorded in history, is traceable to the 4th century A.D., being a Syrian Mission to Malabar where Syrian Christians still form a flourishing population.

Organised missionary enterprise, however, first began about 1500 A.D. when the Portuguese won territories in India and sent Catholic Missionaries to different parts of the country to preach Christianity as they understood it. These missionaries met with persecution and death from the Muhammadans, but the Catholic body of India was practically built up by them in the course of two centuries.¹

The Portuguese administrators showed great zeal in converting India to the Catholic Church, and with this object in view they adopted ruthless measures—destroying temples, forbidding public exercise of any alien religion within the territories seized by them and forcing the local population to listen to Sunday sermons under pain of fine and expulsion. Instances of physical force are also on record. A shipload of captured pirates for instance, were given the option of embracing Christianity or being thrown into the sea.²

Intolerant of the Indian religions, the Portuguese did not even spare the Syrian Christians who happened to belong to a sect different from theirs. The Rev. W. Campbell has, in his book *British India*, described at length, how bribes, intrigues, treachery and jesuitical acts of all kinds were employed to bring them into the subjection of the Roman See. "The tranquil habitations and peaceful villages," sums up the author, "were converted into scenes of violence, spoliation and fiendish barbarity." The argument of the Portuguese "evangelist" evidently was that the end justified the means, but the fact remains unaltered that their methods were essentially un-Christian. Portugal's enthusiasm for the Christian cause, however, did not last long. She had

* From a talk before the Y. M. C. A., London.

¹ In 1700 there were 1,500,000 Roman Catholics in India (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Volume VIII, page 714); in 1931, 2,113,659 (Census of India).

² *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Volume VII, page 731.

obtained special privileges from the Pope, but subsequently she neglected mission work for political considerations. When, in course of time, other European rivals appeared on the economic and political stage of India, Portugal withdrew all patronage to Christianity. The cause was then taken up by the French, German and Dutch missionaries; the advent of the British at last opened a new chapter.

The break-up of the Moghul Empire, civil wars and foreign invasions had worked havoc in the country. India longed for peace, and "Pax Britannica" was established. What an opportune moment for Christianity was this! But strangely enough, the first and most formidable opposition to Christianity came from people professing Christianity. With the British administrators POLICY was the primary question; expediency demanded non-interference with the religion of the people they had come to govern, and for a time, a definitely anti-Christian policy was pursued. Indian soldiers, accepting baptism, were punished and missionaries landed in India only to be deported. "The Court of Directors," observes Gustav Warneck, in *Outlines of a History of Protestant Missions*, "frankly favoured Indian heathenism and hated the "Saints" for this further reason that the Anglo-Indians felt themselves embarrassed by them in their own immoral life.

By espionage, malicious slander and by official intimidation the East India Company almost crushed the missionaries. Men of sterner stuff, however, came to the field later on and the situation was changed. William Carey, finding mission work impracticable within British territories, settled at Serampore, under the Danish flag, and started organised mission work. Besides, he roused England to a sense of duty to the non-Christian world and induced Parliament to allow the missionaries to settle and work in India and to legislate for that purpose. The Indian Government opposed the legislation. When CONSOLIDATION is the question, CHRISTIANITY must wait; and it had to wait till in 1813. Parliament at last granted the necessary "Passport"

Henceforward the Government was more or less neutral. The Anglo-Indians gave up their old attitude of hostility. With the improvement of overseas communication, their womenfolk came to live with them in India and the moral standard of the community improved—if not for anything else at least for fear of what Mrs. Grundy would say. Thus the British Official had no more

to fight shy of the "Saints" and the Government as well as the individual Britisher continued the policy of indifference towards the Christian Mission.

Opposition now came from the Brahmins. Jealous of their monopoly and power, they viewed the alien faith with fear and suspicion. Hinduism, the Brahmin argued, must either reject Christianity outright or suffer extinction. No wonder, therefore, that they were up in arms against the Christian Missionaries.

The caste system proved a veritable Siegfried line for the Hindu, and the upper class remained inaccessible to the Missionaries. Carey, Marshman and their colleagues were, however, dauntless. They started schools and printing-press. Through vernacular literature and journalism they made some impression on the minds of the thinking section of our population. The reaction of Hinduism by way of self-defence found expression on the foundation of the Hindu College and in the mission of Ram Mohun Roy. As a result, the incipient tendency to conversion was definitely checked.

Sometime afterwards, evangelism received a new impetus with the advent of the Scottish Missionary, Alexander Duff, who at last appealed to the intellect and imagination of the rising generation by founding a College in Calcutta. The new Western thought caused a ferment in the Indian mind. Biblical lessons filtered into the Indian's consciousness and imperceptibly filled it with Christian ideas.

The then historical background was very favourable to the spread of the new faith. The *élite* of India had good morals and noble idealism, but lacked leadership. Their spiritual aspirations remained more or less unsatisfied, as their own religion was shrouded in mystery; indeed, most of them did not even know what their own religion was. Spiritual pursuits were confined to a secluded class; society suffered from ignorance and confusion; Brahminical Dictatorship was soul-killing.

India badly needed guidance and Christianity arrived at the right moment. It seemed to offer a workable ethical system, a definite philosophy and a personal God. The Christian Mission showed great promise in India, and yet only 60,00,000 out of a population of 35,00,00,000 are Christians. WHY?

Christianity came to India during a period of transition. In its wake followed a number of crude, and at times fantastic, European cults professing to replace religion—Positivism, Theosophy, Nationalism,

Humanism and several other ISMs. This made the existing confusion worseconfounded. Again, the Christian Church itself was disunited ; the Catholics, the Protestants and numerous other sects differed among themselves and the Hindu did not know whom to follow. Moreover, the very Missionary Colleges which preached the Bible, also taught the theories of Herbert Spencer and Huxley. Indeed, study of Science revolutionized men's attitude towards God and religion. Atheism and scepticism became the fashion among the high-brow class ; the man of religion had to apologise for his "idiosyncrasy." Finally, the Missionaries themselves helped to undermine the Hindu's faith. To the people of India, Hinduism has for centuries been "an anchor that holds." It was unworthy, so the Missionary preached, and Hinduism, for a time, at any rate, tended to lose its hold on a section of the people. But the pendulum went too far the other way. With the loss of faith in their own religion, Faith in the abstract suffered eclipse.

Thus placed, the Indian youth was simply overwhelmed under the pressure of new ideas. The glamour for everything European made him forget himself. Ignorant of his own proud past, he would glory in apish imitation of the West. Fortunately, however, things took a different turn with the advent of certain great personalities, such as Ram Mohun Roy, Bankim Chandra, Dayananda and Vivekananda. Their mission was to preserve the integrity of Hinduism and to mend or end the evils which had crept in during the period of its decadence. Their efforts were crowned with success—Hinduism survived the shock and came out, all the better and purer owing to the Western impact.

At the same time, the activities of the Christian Mission made a deep impression on the minds of the people. There were amongst the Missionaries, at least some idealists of sterling virtues, wedded to a noble cause, and prepared for the highest sacrifice. True, they failed to convince the intelligentsia that Christianity was superior to Hinduism, but their philanthropic activities of social service—hospitals, charitable dispensaries, orphanages and educational institutions—won for them the gratitude and admiration of the country. People of the lower class—the untouchables particularly—readily responded to their call for conversion to Christianity. The pity, however, was that the new converts, though encouraging in number, were not so in quality. Good many of them embraced Christianity

not by conviction, but for convenience ; not out of faith in the new religion but for the prospect of a better status in the new society.

On the other hand the intellectual Hindus were preoccupied in constructive consolidation. Their grievance against the Christian Mission was two-fold—religious and political. Well-meaning though some of them may have been, our foreign critics never really understood the spirit of Hinduism. Consciously superior, they disdained to study, far less to appreciate, truths in religions not their own. In fact one of the methods of Christian propaganda was bitter attack on Hinduism. This hostile attitude proved, in the long run, to be highly detrimental to the Missionary organisation itself. Intolerance and true religion do not go together—such has been the traditional conviction of the Hindu. So, the Missionaries' anti-Hindu propaganda not only wounded India's religious susceptibilities, but lowered the exponents of Christianity in her estimation. It revealed weaknesses unworthy of one claiming to be a spiritual "Guru" of India. In fact, the Missionaries tried to set up a sort of "theocratic imperialism." "It has been very difficult for the missionaries," observes Rev. L. Schiff in *Present Conditions of India*, "to escape the insidious effects of their relation to the ruling race. Some have been guilty of deep-rooted race-feeling and have shared a sense of superiority and of contempt towards the Indian." The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge at Madras, for instance, went on publishing literature reflecting the mentality of Miss Mayo. The militant Hinduism of the Aryya Samaj was the inevitable reaction to the Christian challenge.

"The policy of attacking non-Christian religions pursued by the Missionaries was" as the Rev. C. F. Andrews points out in *True India*, "un-Christian in spirit and opposed to the words of the Master—He came not to destroy but to fulfil."

The fulfilment came at last through the renaissance of Hinduism itself, for which impact of the West was admittedly responsible to a considerable extent. Some German scholars had discovered unbounded wealth in the Sanskrit language. Two new European Sciences—Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology—arose out of a close study of the Indian literature. Goethe was profoundly impressed by Sanskrit poetry and to Schopenhauer the *Upanishads* became "the solace of life and the solace in death." Max Müller wrote an epoch-making book, *India, What can it teach us*.

India at last re-discovered herself. Study of her history and philosophy inspired confidence in the Indian. He was awakened to a sense of duty to defend his own culture ; to understand the truths of Hinduism and to interpret them ; at any rate, to venerate them where comprehension failed.

Signs of re-awakening were evident in all spheres of life—in literature through Bankim Chandra, Michael and Rabindranath ; in politics through Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Surendra Nath and Sri Aurobindo ; in social reforms through Vidyasagar and Keshub Chandra Sen ; in religion through Ramkrishna and Vivekananda.

Ramkrishna, particularly, was the embodiment of Neo-Hinduism. By his life and teachings he re-interpreted India's forgotten spiritual heritage to modern India and it was left to Vivekananda to carry the message to the Western World. God is one, preached Ramkrishna, and whatever exists is He. The Hindu Idol, the target of the Missionary, is but the symbol of that One Infinite Soul ; each religion is but an independent path leading to that one God, whatever be His name. The artificial distinctions of dogma are born of a false sense of values—the means hindering, rather than helping, the end in view.

This spirit of catholicity and tolerance reflected the true genius of India. Hindu Renaissance with this universal note successfully overcame the symptoms of decadence and stemmed the rising tide of Christianity.

Formal conversion ceased, and the Hindu discovered that the Missionaries had really brought no new message, nothing indeed that was unknown to India. Centuries before the birth of Christ, the same spirit of God had manifested itself through Indian prophets who had anticipated the teachings of the Bible. Indeed, in the philosophical and religious experience of India, all human experience has had its echo. In her long history of 5,000 years, India has often been the victim of political ambition, but the foreign conqueror has never been able to conquer the people's mind. Hinduism with its broad vision and traditional vigour has assimilated new truths, if any, in foreign culture and has preserved the integrity of its spiritual evolution. Neo-Hinduism is but the flowering of the genius of India, a philosophy of life, eternal and universal.

THE PROBLEM OF LITERARY RESEARCH IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

KISHAN CHAND, M.A.

THE problem of research in English Literature at Indian Universities is particularly difficult. For one thing there is a general dearth of scholars who would guide research work in this direction. Many distinguished teachers in the subject have fallen a victim to the routine of dull teaching periods and have lost all zest for the thankless task of guiding research in a foreign literature, however intimate it may have become through centuries of contact. Some have been lured to original expression of their thought and feeling in prose, philosophy, fiction and poetry, for that, they thought, gave them a sudden prominence in the public eye and perhaps fulfilled their native desire for self-expression. Research, they thought, was an inferior thing and quite incompatible with their social or literary status. It sounded exotic and strange to them that scientific methods should be applied to the study of a foreign literature, with the background and context of which they were thoroughly unfamiliar. English scholars became rather sceptic of Indian scholarship in the critical study of their literature, even though they acknowledged the unquestioned mastery of language displayed by a long hierarchy of Indian men of letters like Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, Toru Dutt, Manmohan Ghosh, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sachchidanand Sinha, St. Nihal Singh, Sir Jogendar Singh and Mulk Raj Anand. Still another objection to pure literary research came from a section of scholars, who were primarily concerned with the problem of bread and butter. They thought that research in English Literature could only mean, in the words of Dean Otto Heller of the Washington University:

“Collecting all existing versions and variants of literary monuments or compositions; ‘fixing’ the authentic text; making ‘standard’ editions; fretting out analogies and parallels and tracing of sources; annotating; making bibliographies; revealing authorship; tracing connections and influences; recovering writings lost or missing; excavating literary ruins and fragments; disinterring works and parts of works deservedly buried by their authors; disclosing guarded privacies.”

All this was considered to be 'productive scholarship' and followed zealously by students of Oriental Literature. To see the hidden currents of thought and feeling, a conflict of ideologies, impact of other literatures on the one they were studying, the reaction of the socio-political life on the literature as such, the revelation of national character through the literature of that time, all these were relegated to the background and eschewed with scrupulous disregard. The scholars became immense note-writers, second-rate critics, adepts in the art of plagiarism of the subtlest variety. The sense of ineffable and creative joy of discovery of sublimated and disembodied truth was denied to these pseudo-scholars. Research became a secret commodity traded in by a few jealous speculative workers for the sake of material profit.

Gradually, however, the Universities in India established certain Research Lectureships on the model of British Universities and made research a pre-requisite for the post. Since the Universities had by now emerged from their 'teaching' embryo and realised their true function to extend the bounds of knowledge, genuine research in a sphere, however small and insignificant, came into its own. Whereas this healthy notion was followed in the case of subjects, like, Sanskrit, Ancient Indian History, Philosophy, Science and Modern Indian Vernaculars, the same was not thought necessary in the case of a foreign literature like English. All this was, of course, based on a misunderstanding. It was thought that, whatever the case with other subjects, English Literature remained on the superficies of our national and social life and hence was not worthy of intensive study for its own sake or in relation to our own literatures. This mistaken notion was, however, dispelled by certain pioneer research scholars who traced the influence of English Literature on our own literatures, with the zeal of a British speculator in the oil-field of Baku. Centuries of contact had given our literatures, a tone, a colour, a background of values similar to the English. English methods were deemed necessary in the study and criticism of our own literatures, particular attention being paid to the histories of our literatures and the provincial and local folk-lore. The writers of theses on these subjects were given academic recognition in the form of higher degrees like Ph.D. or D.Litt. In my own province, the degree of Ph.D. was instituted by the University only after a scholar had written and presented an illuminating work on Anglo-Indian fiction. Bengal, however, led the

field as usual and other provinces followed in her wake. Bengal had libraries, competent scholars, the necessary spirit of enquiry kept up by various stipends and scholarships, a settled atmosphere and traditions which are essential to the work of research. Scholars from far and near flocked to the Calcutta University to follow the difficult and patient path of research. A Panjabi scholar, who had written a thesis on the Panjabi Literature, having failed to get the necessary recognition in the Panjab itself, submitted his effort for scrutiny to the Calcutta University and got his Ph.D. No wonder, the Panjab University honoured the scholar the next year, on presentation of another monumental work on the Panjabi Literature, by conferring on him the degree of D.Litt.

To encourage research in English Literature, it is but necessary that there should be a University Professor in the subject (which unfortunately is not the case with many Universities following in the old ruts) preferably an Englishman, with a sufficiently long experience of Indian conditions and a working knowledge of modern Indian Literatures. It would be his function to stimulate research by the deserving students, to discover the 'genius' for research, and to co-ordinate research in the University. There are yet many problems in literature, which will bear research and scrutiny on the part of Indian scholars, linguistic problems, problems like mysticism, socio-political currents, and mutual incursions in thought and speech, which can inspire the Indian mind, if a proper environment and encouragement are given to them. Research is a tedious and slow business at first but soon the ideas suggest themselves and the theme swells like music—in fact, one idea suggests another, one lamp lights another. Research then becomes a spontaneous activity. One seems to have discovered a new heaven and a new earth,—nay

Magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

Keats: *To A Nightingale*.

The task at first is uphill, but having reached the top of the mountains, the prospect is extremely beautiful and fascinating.

English, through centuries of contact, has become part of the cultural heritage of India and deserves our attention just as any Indian vernacular. It is not only confined to our Press and the Platform, it has attacked our hearths and homes. Some like

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu take to it just as a swan takes to water. Research in a literature being the final reward and climax of our preliminary studies, the entire system of our education shall have to be overhauled, with this real end in view. Too long have we vomitted criticisms (ill-digested, sometimes) of foreign critics without understanding and appreciation of the real issues at stake. Too long have we remained under the spell of old Grammarians, who made us study the structure of the English language like a lifeless mechanism, and, from the start, implanted a deep disgust for English Literature in our after-lives. Too long the old pedantic teacher has ruled the roost with a rather heavy hand. Too long have we repeated like parrots lines from Shelley and Keats, from Shakespeare and Tennyson. The problem of research in English Literature has to be faced and studied in a comprehensive spirit, in conformity with our national heritage and ideals and traditions and character. This can only be done by a faithful band of workers, who believe in an Indian-English or an Anglo-Indian Literature, just as they believe in an American-English and an Anglo-American Literature. Not within the body-politic of our own country and nation but in the vaster international sphere shall this endeavour shine forth as a remarkable achievement of the spirit of one people calling to the spirit of another people. The problem of our social or political status, the factor of narrow-minded jealousy and its unremunerative and apparently thankless character will, in the last analysis, dwindle automatically, for research, like all products of art and culture, is its own reward, and wherever there is genuine research, there is freedom.

DURGĀ

PROF. N. N. CHAUDHURI, ŚĀSTRĪ

एवं भगवती देवी सा नित्यापि पुनः पुनः ।

सम्भूय कुस्ते भूप जगतः परिपालनम् ॥

(Saptaśatī, Chap. XII)

MOTHER Goddess Durgā is one of the most important deities of our Aryan religion and mythology. Our Vaidika, Paurāṇika and Tāntrika religious treatises tell us much about her incarnation, glory, power and worship. Whenever 'Dharma' suffers, whenever the good, the righteous and the heavenly beings are tortured, tormented and oppressed by the wicked demons, She appears in person in the world, kills the demons and restores law and order. She came into the world, many times and killed the demons. She will come again whenever there will be great troubles and tortures from the demons and She will kill them and restore peace and order.

Of. इत्थं यदा यदा बाधा दानवोत्था भविष्यति ।

तदा तदावतीर्याहं करिष्याम्यरिसंक्षयम् ॥

(Saptaśatī, Chap. XI)

It may be interesting to note here that Lord Kṛṣṇa, too, does the same thing. He says, in the Gītā, to Arjuna that He, in every age, appears in person in the world to protect the good, to kill the wicked and to establish law and order.

Of. परित्वाणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।

धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे ॥

(Gītā, IV. 8)

In fact, Durgā is not different from Kṛṣṇa. We shall discuss this question later on. Now let us see what we can know from our Śāstras about Durgā's battles with the demons. We read in the Purāṇas about three great battles which She fought with the demons in the Satya-age. The battle of Durgā with Mahiṣāsura, the demon-king, is vividly described in the Purāṇas. This battle took place in the beginning of the 'Satya Yuga' Demon Mahiṣa defeated all the gods, drove them away from heaven, and occupied the throne of Indra, the king of gods. The gods, therefore, went

to Brahmā (the God of Creation), Viṣṇu (the God of Preservation) and Śiva (the God of Destruction), for some new plan for their victory over the demons. All the gods thus thronged together for this purpose in the Himālaya mountain, and all of a sudden, their divine Forces came out of their bodies, got collected and united, and suddenly appeared before them as Mother Goddess Durgā, Who fought with Mahiṣa and killed him on the day of *Mahānavamī* (the ninth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Āśvina). The gods worshipped Durgā who bestowed on them Her boons and blessings for their safety and future prosperity, and disappeared from them. This battle of the gods and the demons is described a bit differently in the 'Kenopaniṣad.' We see here that the gods defeated the demons and glorified themselves for the victory they achieved over the demons. Brahman, the Supreme Power, understood the mistake of the gods and appeared before them in the form of an adorable Being (Yakṣa). The God of Fire, first of all, was sent by other gods to know this unknown Being. But he failed. The Wind-god, then, was sent for the same purpose. He, too, could not know the Yakṣa. Now the task fell on the shoulders of Indra who approached the 'Yakṣa'; but the 'Yakṣa' suddenly disappeared from him. Indra saw there in the sky 'Umā', the daughter of Himālaya. She convinced Indra that the victory the gods had over the demons, was achieved not by them, but by Brahman for them, or in other words, She clearly expressed that the Power in them was nothing but Brahman and that Power was the sole cause for their victory over the demons. We thus find that the same tale is told in the Purāṇas in a slightly different form. We see in the Purāṇas that Durgā came out of the combined divine forces of the gods and defeated the demons:

Cf. निर्गतं सुमहत् तेजस्तच्चैक्यं समगच्छत् ॥

अमुलं तत्र तत् तेजः सर्वदेवशरीरजम् ।

एकस्थं तदभून्नारी व्यासलोकत्रयं त्विषा ॥ etc.

(Saptaśatī, Chap. II)

In the *Saptaśatī*, we find that when the demons were finally defeated by Durgā, the gods headed by 'Agni,' the God of Fire, offered their prayer to Her and described Her as the Supreme Power of Viṣṇu, the Supreme Soul.

Cf. त्वं वैष्णवी शक्तिरनन्तवीर्या ।

विश्वस्य बीजं परमासि माया ॥

(Saptaśatī, Chap. XI)

The image of Durgā on the back of a lion is specially worshipped with faith and devotion in the autumnal and the spring seasons.

There was another fight of Durgā with the demons in the 'Satya Yuga' when She appeared in person in the Vindhya-mountain and killed 'Ghorāsura' on the day of 'Mahānavamī' in the month of Āśvina. The gods, there, worshipped Her, and She blessed them and disappeared.

We have another account of a fierce battle in the Satya-age between the gods and the demons headed by "Śumbha." This story of the battle is described in the Saptaśatī of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. There too, Durgā appeared in person, killed the demons and restored the gods to their former divine prestige and position. No other battle of this type between Durgā and the demons is related in our Śāstra.

So far with regard to the 'Satya Yuga,' now let us turn to the Tretā-age when Rāvaṇa stole away Sītā and Rāma, with his monkey-force, invaded 'Lankā,' the capital city of Rāvaṇa. Rāma worshipped Durgā at Lankā in the month of Āśvina, and through Her inconceivable divine power, he defeated and killed Rāvaṇa on the 'Mahānavamī' day and celebrated his victory on the following day, the day of Daśamī, which is, since then, called 'the day of victory' (Vijayā Daśamī) in India.

It would be interesting to note in this connection that Rāma's 'Durgā Pūjā' is not described by Vālmīki in his Rāmāyaṇa, though it is related by many of our Paurāṇika treatises, and is also referred to in the 'Mantras' for the worship of Durgā in the autumnal season. Why is it so? It is rather difficult to give a thoroughly convincing reply to it. Perhaps Vālmīki did not think it necessary to mention Rāma's 'Durgā Pūjā' in the Rāmāyaṇa. We should not forget that Vālmīki was the first Sanskrit poet of the classical period, and his Rāmāyaṇa was the first great epic of that period. It was, therefore, just natural for Vālmīki to describe only those incidents of Rāma's life which, he thought, were essentially necessary for the development of the characters and the sentiments

of his epic. He neglected other minor incidents, which, he probably thought, were not so very essential for his poetic purposes. It was perhaps for this reason that Vālmiki did not describe the 'Durgā-pūjā' of Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa. We cannot, of course, disbelieve the description of Rāma's 'Durgā-pūjā' in the Purāṇas which are historical and religious treatises of Ancient India, and whose historical and religious value and significance cannot be overlooked by any earnest student of Ancient Indian History of Religion, Civilization and Culture.

We find in the 'Bhāgavata-Purāṇa' that the virgins of Vṇḍāvana performed, in the month of 'Agrahāyaṇa', the 'Kātyāyanī-vrata' for the propitiation of Durgā and had Kṛṣṇa as their Lord.

The 'Nayarātra-vrata' which is performed in India, in the autumnal season, is nothing but the worship of Durgā in a different form.

When we turn to the Mahābhārata, we find that Yudhiṣṭhira propitiated Durgā and obtained Her gracious boons which enabled him, along with his brothers and wife, to pass one year incognito in the court of King Virāṭa. In the Bhīṣma Parva, too, we find that just before the beginning of the great battle of Kurukṣetra, Arjuna was asked by Kṛṣṇa to offer his prayer to Durgā for his victory over Duryodhana. Arjuna did the same, and had, through Her grace, a divine force infused into him, making him a match for the whole army of Duryodhana. Durgā is described in the Mahābhārata as the killer of Demon Mahiṣa.

The word Durgā, according to our Śāstras, denotes a deity who protects the good and the righteous from troubles and tortures in the world.

Cf. दुर्गात् तारयसे दुर्गे तत् त्वं दुर्गा स्मृता जनैः ।

(Mahābhārata, IV. 6. 20)

Durgā is always described as the presiding deity of battles. In fact, the Supreme Power (Brahman) appears, in the form of Durgā for the destruction of the wicked and the preservation of the good and the righteous. The Śāstra says:—

एकैव शक्तिः परमेश्वरस्य भिन्ना चतुर्धा विनियोगकाले ।

भोगे भवानी पुरुषेषु विष्णुः कोपेषु काली समरेषु दुर्गा ॥

[Vide the Durgā-Pūjā-Tattva (Satish), p. 24]

In the Rātrī hymn of the Ṛgveda and in the 'Devayupaniṣad' Durgā is invoked. It is said here that Durgā looks like fire in Her complexion. She is very powerful and all-knowing. She is very bright and shining, and seen by the Supreme Soul in Him. She gives us the fruit of our deeds. She takes us easily across the ocean of the world, and protects us in dangers and difficulties in our life.

Cf. तामग्निवर्णां तपसा ज्वलन्तीं वैरोचनीं कर्मफलेषु जुष्टाम् ।

दुर्गां देवीं शरणमहं प्रपद्ये सुतरसि तरसे नमः सुतरसि तरसे नमः ॥

(Ṛgveda, Khila, following X. 127. Devayupaniṣad, 4)

It has already been said that Durgā is nothing but the combination of divine Power, Force and Energy of all the gods taken together. Without Her, the gods are, so to say, lifeless. Just as the burning power of fire is the very soul of fire, similarly Durgā is the very soul and essence of the whole universe. Without Her the universe becomes, in fact, dead. Durgā is not indeed different from the Supreme Soul. She is the "Māyā" or Power of Him. It is true that the Supreme Soul is neither male nor female nor anything of the sort :

Cf. नैव स्त्री न पुमानेषः ।

(Śvetāśvatara, V. 10)

For the benefits and convenience of the devotee, the Supreme Power assumes different images :

Cf. (a) साधकानां हितार्थाय ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना ॥

(b) साधकानां हितार्थाय अरूपा रूपधारिणी ॥

(Tantratattva, Part I, pp. 137, 354)

Brahman is never different from His 'Śakti' or Power. He is rather identified with His eternal and primeval Force.

Cf. (a) शक्तिर्महेश्वरो ब्रह्म त्रयस्तुल्यार्थवाचकः ॥

(b) शिवाभिन्ना शिवङ्करी ॥

(a) (Tantratattva, Part I, p. 328)

(b) (Kaula-Mārga-Rahasya, p. 188)

Out of this eternal and primeval Force, things have been created ;

in Which all things live ; and in Which again, all things would disappear :

Cf. यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते ।
येन जातानि जीवन्ति ।
यत् प्रयन्त्यभि संविशन्ति ।
तद् विजिज्ञासस्व । तद् ब्रह्मेति ।

(Taittirīyopaniṣad, III. 1)

We may meditate upon Brahman in any of the ways prescribed by our Śāstras. We may think of Him as Śiva or Durgā or anything else which appeals to our religious heart. In reality, He is neither Śiva nor Durgā nor anything of the type, but again at the same time, He is Śiva, Durgā or any other thing we can conceive Him to be. We think of the Supreme Power as Mother because all human existence is born of Mother ; and this is the easiest way for us to concentrate and meditate upon the Supreme Soul. In short, all this means that we may accept any form of God, we like, as the image of Brahman, and we may describe that image as each and everything of the Universe, for that image is, in reality, identified with Brahman. We see, for this reason, that when Durgā is described in our Śāstras, it is remarked there that She is every thing and there is nothing beyond Her.

Cf. भूतानि दुर्गा भुवनानि दुर्गा नराः स्त्रियश्चापि सुरासुरादिकम् ।
यद् यद्वि दृश्यं खलु सैव दुर्गा दुर्गास्वरूपादपरं न किञ्चित् ॥

(Kaula-Mārga-Rahasya, p. 19)

In fact, there is no distinction between Durgā and other deities of our religion. The distinction is rather seeming, and lies in the peculiar bent of the mind of the devotee who chooses, for his worship, this or that image of God, which specially satisfies the spiritual hankerings of his heart. But gradually he comes to know that different deities are rather different aspects or manifestations of one and the same God ; God is One, Omniscient, Omnipotent and Omnipresent.

एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति ।

(R̥gveda, 1. 22. 164)

LOGICAL REASONING AND NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS

PROF. S. K. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A.

GREAT confusion is present in philosophical thought regarding the word 'reasoning' and a student of Logic is bewildered to see it being used in various senses. According to some, it is the mental capacity involved in passing from the known to the unknown, while others use it synonymously with 'understanding.' Besides, there is a third school which accepts it in the sense of the judgmental act of reference. Now, in whatever sense we take it in common speech, its metaphysical use should be well-defined to avoid complications. Philosophy or critical thinking loses all its significance and value if the terms used in it are not rigidly distinguished and carefully defined. In this given case when defining the word 'reasoning,' it is necessary that our definition should serve to distinguish between Logic and other cognate mental sciences, like Psychology and Epistemology as in the latter, also, we are required to consider the very same phenomenon although by characteristically distinct methods.

It is generally held that while Psychology deals with *positive* thinking (along with other mental phenomena), Logic deals with *normative* thinking. But this leads to fresh difficulties because a further distinction and, this time, between positive and normative thinking, becomes necessary. Moreover, a distinction within the sphere of positive thinking itself needs be made to accommodate both Psychology and Epistemology. While the distinction between normative and positive thinking is not possible till a later stage, Psychology and Epistemology may, however, be distinguished here as follows: Psychology, we may say, is an empirical science while Epistemology is a transcendental science. Psychology treats thinking as an objectivity or fact, but Epistemology takes it as an *a priori* function. Both Psychology and Epistemology are positive sciences, for, the psychical states or cognitive functions which they treat of are what actually happen. But while Epistemology takes thinking as an *a priori* act, Psychology treats it as a mental state or as Professor

Woodworth will say, as a 'characteristic' of human activity in response. Further, the psychologist seeks an explanation of thinking in an objective attitude studying thinking in and through its expressions. Hence his problem is: 'How does consciousness grow and develop?' Epistemology, on the other hand, assumes the *a priori* character of the intellect, considers thinking *as such* and as a transcendental activity of the subject in knowing. Hence, the problem of Epistemology is: How does thinking as an *a priori* faculty express itself in relation to object? or, as Kant asked, 'How is synthetic judgment *a priori* possible?' But when we come to Logic, the question turns different, since Logic is said to concern itself not with thinking *as such* or as it is, but with thinking as it *ought to be*. Deferring the treatment of Logic as a normative science for the present we shall now consider the meaning of the word 'reasoning' as we use it in Logic.

Those, who describe reasoning as the faculty of passing from the known to the unknown, unduly confuse it with one specific mode of knowing, *i.e.*, inference. It is one thing to say that inference involves reasoning and quite a different thing to misconstrue reasoning as being inferential knowledge precisely. Those, again, who take reasoning in the sense of 'understanding' unnecessarily widen the meaning of the term leading to greater complications. For, in the first place, understanding presupposes reasoning in being itself a faculty of reason. In the second place, understanding is capable of interpreting what is presented to it but is unconscious of its own mode of operation. In other words, understanding, while it understands objects or facts, does not understand itself. But reasoning is a self-conscious principle and cognises itself in and through its activity. When we know a presentation, we know an object but not also the knowing of it in the same movement of thought. Knowing as *contemplation* and knowing as *enjoyment*, even granting that the distinction drawn between them by Prof. Alexander is sound, cannot be synchronous. It requires a distinct turn of the mind to pass from the former to the latter. It is a discrepancy in the very nature of understanding in not being able to understand itself.

The above fact is not so anomalous as it seems to be. The flow of the mind—occasioned by an objectivity presenting itself to it—must move towards the presentation and cannot of its own accord come back to itself. It requires a fresh flash from the source to get itself illuminated. This latter may take place in the form of a cognition of

cognition, or secondary cognition. But it, also, being an operation of understanding, although capable of illuminating primary awareness as its object, is wholly incapable of getting itself illuminated in the course of the same operation. Thus it is inadmissible that understanding which is unconscious of its own mode of reaction can be reasoning—the highest principle of all theoretic awareness. The third standpoint that reasoning is judgmental act of some kind cannot be examined without a prior analysis of the nature of judgment.

On the question of the nature of judgment we find no consensus of opinion among thinkers. To some, it is a verbal extension of perception where perception is knowledge. To some, again, perception as an unrelated manifold contains all relations covertly¹ and such relations become explicit in judgment which is related perception. Kant and Bradley, according to whom knowledge is judgment, conceive it as a thinking act of referring something to something else beyond the former. But while Kant is satisfied to refer the presentation synthetised through *intuition* and *imagination* to a thought-category beyond the presentation, Bradley refers the content to Reality as a whole lying beyond the judgmental act.² Thus while the traditional interpretation will refer a judgmental subject (percept or concept) to a predicate, both regarded as *entities*, Kant and Bradley will differ from it with regard to the nature of the contents of judgment. In the judgment 'the sky is blue' the traditional school will take the 'sky' as the subject and a percept, 'blue' as the predicate and a concept and will judge a relation of agreement between the two. In the judgment 'Man is mortal,' again, the same interpretation will hold good except that here the relation will obtain not between a percept and a concept, but between one concept and another, both regarded as *facts*. To Kant, however, this view will seem absurd, for judging is not piling up of facts. According to him, a phenomenal presentation as a whole constituted by two successive processes of synthesis—synthesis of apprehension and synthesis of imagination—is the judgmental subject. This subject is known by the transcendental activity of the mind expressed as categories. The categories are not facts, they are describable as functions only. Thus the 'blue-sky,' the traditional S—P—a synthetised whole—will be the subject and it will be referred to a category of the understanding—substantiality or unity or reality—

¹ Hobhouse—Theory of Knowledge.

² Bradley—Principles of Logic, Ch. I.

which reference alone will make it intelligible. The pure concept or category, to which the subject must be referred to be at all judged and known, is no objective entity in Kant's opinion or, in that sense, real. It is a faculty of understanding which reason directs to arrive at a theoretical consciousness of a presentation. Kant is not blind to the fact that phenomenon by itself is not knowable, although it is the phenomenon alone that is knowable. Could he maintain the contrary, he could *exhypothesi* escape the criticism that though he speaks of the possibility of phenomenal knowledge only, still he cannot, to the refutation of his own theory (?), dispense with the notion of a reality unknown and unknowable.

Bradley, on the other hand, takes the phenomenon itself as his predicate or the 'ideal content' and refers it to a subject which is some part of Reality as a whole. The referee, which was for Kant a category or concept of the understanding, becomes a solid objectivity in Bradley's theory of judgment. The judgmental subject of Kant, again, becomes the predicate of his judgment. *Thus while Kant wanted to know a particular phenomenon by means of a category of reality, Bradley wants to know the Reality, at least partially, by means of the phenomenon.* It is no place to elaborately treat the interpretation of judgment by any individual theorist. It will suffice to indicate for the present the inclination and attachment of this essay to the Kantian interpretation to the rejection of all the rest. The simple reason is that Bradley's conception is vitiated with the same difficulty which Kant sought to remove from the traditional conception of judgments. For, once you accept the predicate of a judgment and to what it is referred, both as facts of some kind, an existence or a subsistence it is impossible, on Bradley's own account of relation, to bring them together.¹ Kant's explanation is entirely free from this difficulty. He refers the phenomenon not to a real substantive but to a category which is not only the referee but also itself the act of reference. Thus while it is inconceivable how two empirical concepts by themselves come to be judged one of the other, or, even by a third and alien fact working as a medium, and while it is impossible to demonstrate the full or even partial correspondence between the ideal content and the reality to which it is referred, it is intelligible that the phenomenal object to be at all known must be known according as a faculty of the understanding interprets it.

¹ Bradley—Appearance and Reality, Ch. II.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that whatever may be the nature of the content and of the referee, a judgment consists in an act of reference. It is also apparent that the present essay has declared its allegiance to the view that knowledge can begin with judgment only. The further fact which remains to be considered is whether reasoning, as we use the term in Logic, is that judgmental act. Here, no plain answer can be given, for we have a wide divergence of opinion as to the scope of a logical science. The upholders of the Transcendental School of Logic will have hesitation to acknowledge that reasoning is the judgmental act. For, it is a well-known fact that Kant rigidly distinguished between reasoning as free thinking and reasoning as the directive principle of understanding.¹ Joseph has admitted logical reasoning in the sense of the faculty of understanding when he says that the subject-matter of Logic is the forms that run through all our thinking about different matters.² The exponents of Mathematical Logic, according to whom judgment consists in studying the relations of mathematical symbols, will consider the interpretation of relations as the task of logical reasoning. The Logic of the Dialectics, again, will consider the task of Logical reasoning as one of interpreting Reality through a dynamical movement based on synthesis. It is needless to multiply view-points. The present essay not only disagrees with them all but, moreover, it regards them wholly wide of the mark. Apart from this negative side, the essay has a positive one and this consists in chalking out for Logic a distinct province, allotting the ascribed realm to Epistemology, the science of the forms of thinking. This has been necessitated by the traditional conception of Logic as a normative science of thinking and by the recognition of Epistemology as at best a positive science. The present essay accepts that conception of Logic as sound, though its reasons for that acceptance will fundamentally differ from those adduced by the traditional school. But the view of Logic as a normative science and of reasoning as normative thinking can be fully explained only through a prior analysis of the nature of normative judgments and of our estimation of the values—Truth, Goodness and Beauty.

¹ Critique of Pure Reason—Bk II. 'Transcendental Logic.'

² Joseph—An Introduction to Logic, Ch. I.

The distinction between normative and positive judgments is generally accepted as one between judgments of norms and judgments of facts. Both of them involve knowledge and in both human reason finds its expression. But though in both of them we judge, our judging activity is not uniquely expressed in them. In positive judgments, it is implicit and it is explicit only in normative judgments. By implicit judgment is meant unconscious judgment, when understanding judges or interprets a given presentation or a primary awareness without rising to a critical consciousness of itself. Thus in our everyday consciousness, we are aware of certain objectivity in a positive way. In secondary cognition, again, understanding is capable of interpreting the primary cognition as a given awareness without being aware of itself as an act and hence a cognition of cognition is also positive. In the seeing of the rose, in touching its petals, we know the rose but we do so without being conscious of the knowing act. Here, understanding is exclusively interested in an objective presentation in the form of an appearance of object or of a consciousness anterior to it. This is positive knowledge. But when we judge a thing as ugly, the behaviour of our friend as bad, the words of our servant, well-reputed for his lies, as untrue, we judge explicitly and consciously. When we see the particular thing mark the doings of our friend, or hear the servant speaking, we judge no doubt, but this we do by way of experiencing or knowing. But when besides knowing the thing we mention it as ugly, besides marking the behaviour of the friend remark it as bad, besides hearing the servant we name him a liar, we go further than implicit judgment. Here we re-judge or evaluate what we have already known and this is judging in the normative sense. In positive judgments the predicate is borrowed from the nature of the presentation while in normative judgment the predicate is a representation of reason moulding the original predicate in a new colour and furnishing it with a new meaning. The 'redness' of the red flower is a quality of the flower, but the beauty of the red flower is not its original quality of redness, but its original quality furnished with a new essence intelligible only through a reference to the aesthetic appreciation of the subject. What is more is that this appreciative judgment is explicit, while the interpretative judgment is only implicit. It is a subjective purpose of reason which makes a judgment explicit; for then, *reasoning* does not relapse into *understanding*, but visualises

and appreciates the whole data of understanding in the light of its own motive or purpose.

Even in a cognition of cognition, the act of judgment is implicit. While illuminating the primary awareness it may make the latter explicit in one sense ; but nevertheless the secondary act of thought, which alone characterises it as secondary, lies implicit. In primary, secondary and similar other cognitions, the movement of consciousness is not occasioned by any conscious motive of the subject ; but it is occasioned by an objectivity of some sort. The cognitive faculty has a forward movement by which, while illuminating an objectivity it loses all consciousness of itself. In normative judgments, however, the movement is backward from the awareness of the presentation. This change in the natural and normal direction of thought is occasioned not by anything alien, but by certain values present in the very structure of reason. Thus while in all positive judgments, the determination of knowing is occasioned by an objectivity without which the categories of the understanding would remain empty, in normative judgments the determination is occasioned by the sense of value inherent in human reason.

But it should be borne in mind that the so-called normative judgments are dependent on positive judgments. Unless the positive awareness of certain objectivity is gained previously, it is not possible to judge in terms of value. At this stage, it is necessary to clarify our idea of the different values—Truth, Goodness and Beauty. These are not substantives or in that sense facts. These are not rational *ends*—objective or external. These are not, again, qualities, absolute or transcendental. These are the *categories* of reason as distinct from the *categories* of understanding. These are tendencies inherent in reason and functioning in all appreciative judgments. When we judge a flower as beautiful, the ‘ beautiful ’ is no idea or standard in terms of which the flower is judged as such. No past representation of beauty makes our new percept beautiful. The faculty of reproduction or the synthesis of imagination may give the flower its actual contents like, colour, shape, fragrance, etc., but it cannot reveal the beauty of the flower. A beautiful flower is not always beautiful though its actual contents are always open to the percipient’s cognisance. The flower becomes beautiful when the subject appreciates it. Its beauty is thus through the subject’s mode of appreciation or evaluation. The values are thus no facts but are the different *modes* of appre-

ciation. In normative judgments we are said to use certain standards and such standards are identified with the values. But that is not scientific. The standard of normative judgments is as much an actuality as the facts we judge in them. But while in positive judgments the standard is employed for the purpose of *interpretation*, in normative judgments, it is employed for the subjective purpose of *appreciation*. This subjective motive is initiated by the sense of value and it is this latter which is responsible for making our normative judgments *ideal*. The prevalent idea is that the standard is an ideal end, a concrete fact capable of standing in comparison with an actual datum, and that in appreciative judgments such a standard is used as a measure of value. But this cannot bear any serious scrutiny. We do never get the beautiful as a mental concept. The value is only a *mode of reaction* of reason and the end of its exercise is the subjective motive of appreciation. The standard is the content of reproductive imagination. In positive judgments it is employed by the faculty of understanding to interpret a presentation. But in normative judgments it is employed by reason to evaluate the presentation with the subjective motive to appreciate and enjoy. The standard is an *empirical* concept in the estimation of value as *beauty*;—it is the totality of *actual conditions* involved in knowing in the estimation of value as *truth*;—it is an *actual principle* of conduct in the estimation of value as *goodness*. Thus the normative standard or the standard as employed in all normative judgment does not virtually differ from the standard of positive judgment. The difference lies in the way in which it is used. In positive awarenesses it simply conditions what occasions its exercise, in normative judgments it is motivated by the rational sense of value. This perhaps requires further elucidation.

Our task will be simplified if we take only one type of normative judgments to elucidate our view-point. Let us take a syllogistic argument: 'Ram is mortal, for he is a man and all men are mortal.' The question of Logic here is not how we have arrived at the conclusion, but whether the conclusion is true or false. Now, truth or falsehood does not as a character belong to the conclusion. The conclusion is true or false according as it satisfies or fails to satisfy the rational mind evaluating it. But the rational mind has, in that case, no arbitrary choice and its appreciation is dependent on the actual conditions involved in the production of the conclusion. Such actual conditions form the standard. In the given case, for example, the

premises "All men are mortal and Ram is a man" constitute the standard and a proper adjustment of the conclusion to the conditions or premises will speak for the truth of the former. In positive judgment, in the given case, the same conditions would apply with this difference that in it the judgmental act would terminate with the conclusion, while in the normative judgment the conclusion is rejudged with reference to those actual conditions. In positive knowing of the mortality of Ram, the conditions would be involved without the subject's being conscious of them at the moment. In normative appreciation of the conclusion as a whole, the conditions are consciously thought out and compared with the nature of the conclusion reached. Reasoning is the principle involved in finding out the conditions and in judging their relation to their products. In the given case, we begin with the conclusion and demand for its conditions or premises. And when they are discovered we rationally examine the fact of adjustment or mal-adjustment between the premises and the conclusion. Reason is rational enough to understand what adjustment is proper, that is, conducive to the fulfilment of its appreciative motive.

The above explanation of the function of logical reasoning cannot have any serious consideration unless some other problems which it gives rise to are satisfactorily solved. For instance, it may be asked whether the same sort of explanation of reasoning can obtain in the sphere of aesthetical and ethical judgments. In the next place, it may be asked whether the truth or falsehood of a given conclusion can be said to be determined by its relation to the immediate conditions which it implies. In the third place, it may be demanded of us to explain whether judgments can be treated as being exclusively inferential in character. In this present essay, however, we, for clarity's sake, refrain from submitting any answer to the above questions. All that we aim at in this essay is a provisional acceptance of the point we have raised.

Now, if it be granted that normative judgments are explicit on account of the active interest which reason takes in them and that the standards used in them are positive data, the further fact which has to be admitted is that the ideal character of these judgments consists in the way the standards are employed. What normally happens without any conscious motive on the part of the subject is the actual, but what is consciously thought out with some end in view

is the ideal. The end in all conscious activities is rational enjoyment. The scope of this enjoyment is unlimited and that is why one normative judgment naturally leads to another and our search for truth, beauty and goodness does not terminate. In all positive awareness we are object-minded, but in normative judgments we aim at measuring the object-consciousness with a view to deriving satisfaction—subjective and rational. How we ought to think, feel or will is no subject for a normative science to deal with. In it we seek to ascertain the value of our normal thinking, feeling or willing. And in this attempt we discover the actual conditions determining our normal conscious activities and then we place them alongside their products so as to evaluate the setting as a whole.

THE GEORGIAN REVIVAL AND RETURN TO NATURE *

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I

TRANSITION: A REACTION AGAINST THE VICTORIAN COMPROMISE

EVERY change in environment, be it the result of invention or discovery or a planned method of reconstruction, must inevitably alter the nature of our outlook. The whole theory of evolution attests to the fact that men are not the same in all ages; they differ widely and significantly. The Victorian literature devoted to the promotion of bourgeois virtues, so inestimably significant to the bourgeois society of which it was an inseparable part, will certainly be viewed as the production of the very age from which man has fortunately emerged, and in open revolt, has discovered newer paths. Though historically the Victorian era closes with 1900, yet the disintegrating forces are seen apparently at work during the later part of the Victorian age. The rise of the Pre-Raphaelite School with their emphasis on senses and concrete facts of life is symptomatic of growing reaction against too-much Tennyson and too-much Browning. And the Aesthetic School of Pater¹ with the doctrine of *Art for Art's sake*, later on nourished by Oscar Wilde² and Arthur Symonds,³ shows a complete break-off from the moral traditions of the Victorians. The deistic concept

* Adapted from the original essay *Nature in the English poetry (1890-1914)*. Written for the Stephen prize of the Calcutta University.

¹ 'Pater always seems to talk of everybody as if they had no clothes on.' His appreciation of Leonardo Da Vinci's *Le Gioconda*, shows him at his best as an aesthetic critic. His voluptuous enjoyment of beauty appeared unhealthy to many of his contemporaries.

² In *Modern Painters* Ruskin had written in explanation of himself as a critic of art. In many works on architecture, the preference accorded finally to one school over another is founded on a comparison of their influences on the life of the workmen. But his one-time disciple Oscar Wilde declared, "They are elect to whom beautiful things mean only beauty. There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well-written or badly written. That is all! Again in his *Decay of Lying* he has also laid down: 'Art never expresses anything but itself..... Life imitates art far more than art imitates life.'

³ In his preface to *Plays, Acting and Music* Arthur Symonds has declared, 'Each art has its own laws, its own capacities, its own limits; these it is the business of the critic jealously to distinguish. Yet in the study of art as art it should be his endeavour to master the universal science of beauty.'

of Nature held and cherished by the robust Victorians¹ gradually reaches its vanishing point in Hardy, to whom Nature shorn of all deistic hollow, appears merely as a hostile force :

‘Man love to dub Dame Nature, —that lay shape
They use to hang phenomena upon—
Whose defftest mothering in fairest spheres
Is girt about by terms inexorable.’²

Hardy has no optimistic ‘*Weltansicht*’ characteristic of the palmy days of Nature-poetry.’³

§2. THE EDWARDIAN REACTION AND A HARK-BACK TOWARDS NATURE

Scarcely had the last decade of the Nineteenth century elapsed, it was already apparent that the European thought was undergoing rapid changes. On the one hand we find the ruthless advance of science and industry in every sphere of life, and on the other the advent of different political creeds. The close of the Nineteenth century and the advent of the Twentieth clearly marked out shifting grounds of thought. Professing Democracy, as they did, all the European nations, in reality, tried to set up the idol of Nationalism, prompted more by their totalitarian faith that had already taken root in the economic structure of national life. The Imperialistic activities of great powers during the later part of the Nineteenth century were directed in large measure towards centralisation of industry and armament. In spite of democratic zeal and fervour intensely aggressive spirit of nations made a rapid headway towards a terrible culmination, and actually it culminated in the World War

- ¹ (a) And God renews
His ancient rapture. There He dwells in all
From lifes' minutest beginnings, up at last
To man, the conservation of the scheme
Of being, the completion of this sphere
Of life. —Paracelsus —Browning
- (b) God is seen
In the star, in the stone, in the soul, and the clad.
- (c) —Saul —Ibid
The sun, the moon, the star, the sea, the hills and the plains,
Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns.
—Tennyson.

² *The Dynasts*, Act I., Sc. IV.

³ *Concept of Nature in the 19th Century*—Joseph Warren Beach.

of 1914. The Pre-War England in spite of all political pandemonium on the continent remained impervious till she was personally affected. Notwithstanding the stimulating themes of democracy and of patriotic fervour which occupied some poets of the time, most of the Pre-War English poets remained at a distance from the panorama of political life. The heavy thud of industrialism had already been felt on the heart of England. The speedy growth of commercial towns, the rapid urbanisation of life—all these seemed to be alarming to the poets of the nineties. The club-and-café-life vogue of the New Aesthetes who were as if mad with a gibberish excitement over their cup of wine, was too hot for the Edwardians who soon outstripped the 'Cynara fashion of love and wine,'¹ and sought shelter in the bosom of open Earth with Chesterton and Belloc as bell-wethers. The murkiness that emerged out of the urban and industrial life which once excited the indignation of Thomas Wood² and E. B. Browning,³ seemed almost appalling to the newer generation of poets. So the abandonment of urban artificialities of the nineties grew more and more prominent. The vogue of fashionable life in café and studio so welcome to the Aesthetes like Sturge Moore and Arthur Symonds was thrown aside. The cult of a native crudity became a fashion. A wave of neo-Teutonism swept over the Frenchified dilettantism of the decadants⁴ of the nineties. The volumes of Baudelaire and Rimbaud were flung down. The Edwardians wearied of the aestheticism of Oscar Wilde and Lionel Johnson, tried to find out the means of a natural diastole. In open defiance with the cavalier

¹ Last night, ah yesternight, betwixt her lips and mine,
There fell a shadow, Cynara, thy breath was shed
Upon my soul between the kisses and wine;
And I was desolate and bowed my head:
I have been faithful to thee Cynara! in my old fashion.
All night upon my heart I felt her warm heart beat.
Night long within mine arms in love and sleep she lay,
Surely the kisses of her bought red mouth were sweet,
But I was desolate and sick of old passion.
When I awoke and found the dawn was grey
I was faithful to thee Cynara! in my old fashion.

—Ernest Dowson.

² *Song of Shirt*—Thomas Wood.

³ *Cry of Children*—E. B. Browning.

⁴ "The great thing, if you were a decadant of the nineties," says I. A. Williams in *Poetry To-Day*, "was to be as dissipatedly urban as possible. You wrote of sin, of the drinking of absinthe, of rugged cheeks and painted lips.... The motive of their work was born not of a genuine creative impulse, but out of a groping search of novelty and a mistaken idea that a Cockneyfied Paris would be a delectable city to live in, that Helicon was a back street in Soho."

fashion of Wilde¹ and Johnson,² Chesterton attempted to show that he could apply the same order of wit, as Wilde did for the drawing-room epigrams, to a more rustic background. Mr. Belloc developed assiduously the cult of native crudity, and gave to his public the romantic figure of a poetical tramp 'carolling his way over the Alpine Passes or Sussex Downs.' The influence of A. E. Houseman in the diastolic movement of the time was very profound. He was to the neo-Pagans of the century very much as Milton to the poets of the mid-eighteenth century. The *A Shropshire Lad*³ of Houseman, combining in itself the poignant notes of rural pessimism with a genuine taste for English rusticity, suggested an escape from the 'Garden of Eros' to open-air life on meadow and furrow. Thus the Edwardian reaction gave a turn to the course of English poetry, paving the way for a New Revival in the second decade of the Twentieth century. Again Gibson, on the very eve of the Georgian Revival of poetry, with his dull drab and the dreary life of the workmen and the poorer folk of the fishing and mining villages, recited the same creed of reaction in his *Daily Bread*:

'But we, now shall we turn to little things?
And listen to the birds and winds and streams
Made holy by their dreams.—
Nor feel the heart-break in the heart of things.'

The poet very genuinely feels the heart-break caused by the industrial city life which has snatched away the simple country-folk to

¹ The lily's withered chalice falls,
Around its rod of dusty gold.
And from the beech trees in the wold
The last wood-pigeon coo's its calls.
The gaudy bovine sun-flower
Hangs black and withered on its stalk.

Le Jardin—Oscar Wilde.

² Roses from Paestean rosaries!
More goodly red and white was she
Her and white were harmonies,
Not matched upon a Paestean tree.

Lionel Johnson.

³ It was *The A Shropshire Lad*, I believe says, I. A. Williams that more than any thing else set the mind of the young poets of the twentieth century working in new ways, exploring new subjects and new methods of treatment. In particular, this book taught them to appreciate economy of means to see through the sham of mere lavishness of phrases and sound and try to cultivate what one may call the honest technique of poetry....Then was in the *A Shropshire Lad* the flash of something sharp and bright and rich, which was the very thing which as one century passed into another was needed to set England off a new era of poetry. —*Poetry-To-day*.

the furnace fire of blazing engines. And Masefield with his scum of the earth and 'virile and smelly mud,' and with his extreme sensitiveness to sights, sounds and sufferings may be said in the language of Sherard Vines 'to occupy the entire ground floor of the *Heart-Break House* of Mr. Gibson.' Again when Masefield appeared at the very dawn of the Georgian Revival with his *Everlasting Mercy* (1911) and the *Widow of the Bye Street* (1912), he determined some of the main tendencies of the New Revival by giving his public a plunge into a life rather strange, but not alien.—strange in its rudeness and sincerity and intelligible in its Englishry which at that time no other English poet could do. He started the excitement of the general public. So from a historical standpoint the importance of Masefield on Georgian panorama must be emphasised. Now it was but a short step to the sea-side, the elemental hills, the allotment ground and the kitchen garden. The younger poets of the time made a unique dash for nature with Rupert Brooke as their leader.

§3. THE MOTIVE OF THE GEORGIAN REVIVAL

These Georgian Revivalists¹ with their claim for applying familiar experiences to poetical treatment in familiar language fell back upon the liberating principle of Blake and Wordsworth. Once more we have here one of those 'returns to nature' which betokens a resolve to reach the intimate plane of inner life. More definitely warned by the experiences of the intervening years,—the aestheticism of Oscar Wilde, Flaubert and Baudelaire's glorification of art as art, and also the Edwardian reaction against all this dilettantism, they even exceeded the degree of simplicity and of direct realism where Wordsworth had stopped. Moreover, with their outlook widened by the natural mysticism of Maeterlink, vitalism of Schopenhauer, life-force of Bergson and the humanitarianism of the contemporary Russian writers, they came to claim themselves to be the harbingers of a New Era.

¹ The motive of the Georgian poets as expressed in the first miscellany of their verse published in 1912 under the editorship of Edward Marsh, is to show 'that English poetry is putting on new strength and beauty. The heterogeneous group of poet that contributed to the first publication in 1912 consisted of Lancelas Abercrombie, Gordon Bottomley, Rupert Brooke, G. K. Chesterton, W. H. Davies, Walter De la Mare, John Drinkwater, J. E. Flecker, W. W. Gibson, D. H. Lawrence, John Masefield, Harold Monro, T. Sturge Moore, Sir Ronald Ross, E. B. Sergant, James Stephens and R. L. Trevelyan, etc. But five of these poets, namely, G. K. Chesterton, Ronald Ross, E. B. Sergant, T. Sturge Moore and R. L. Trevelyan were not to reappear in any of the four succeeding anthologies and not in any way to be classed as Georgians by future critics. The third volume (1922) includes Victoria Sackville West and Edmund Blunden.

§4. THE INDEBTEDNESS OF THE GEORGIANS TO THEIR IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS.

Nevertheless no age is an isolated growth. The full-blossomed romanticism of the Nineteenth century had had its roots deep down in the previous era of reason and wit. Likewise this 'Twentieth century return to nature' owes to a greater or less degree, its inspiration to some of the later Victorians such as Thomas Hardy, Robert Bridges and W. B. Yeats. These poets by their peculiar temperament serve as a link connecting the present generation with the mid-Victorian literature. Meredith who was almost at that time a septuagenarian had had a closer affinity with those poets of the brief epoch of reaction against too much Victorian.

(i) *Meredith's influence*

Nature for Meredith¹ was not an 'exquisite mechanism' as with Tennyson, nor a 'cheery comrade' as to Browning but it was like a stern mother who teaches us an order, a beauty a virtue. She may repel us, but in our submission to her will, she ministers to our strength and joy:

'She prompts him to rejoice
Yet scares him on the threshold with the shroud
He deems her cherishing of her best-endowed
A wanton's choice.
Albeit thereof he has found
Firm road-way between lustfulness and pain,
Has half-transferred the battle to his brain
From bloody ground.'

—*Earth and Man*.

Meredith echoes a more modern sentiment when he refers to the origin of life to the primeval mud of an early geologic era, 'when the atmosphere of earth was favourable to the growth of gigantic flying animals.' He insists that animal instinct as well as human mind grow equally out of the soil of Earth:

'That from the flesh unto spirit man grows
Even here on the sod under sun.'

—*A Faith on Trial* (1888).

¹ In one of his letters Meredith wrote: 'Our great error has been (the error of all religion, as I fancy) to raise a spiritual system in antagonism to Nature—*Letters*, 1881.

Such is the nature of Meredith wherefrom man derives his being, his mind his aspirations, his joy and wisdom.

(ii) *Hardy's influence*

Hardy, on the other hand, stands poles apart from Meredithan optimism. But as a poet he strikes a modern note by his challenge against mechanism, by virtue of his deep intuition of the organic evolution of universal life. Unlike Meredith he may but feel the hostility of Nature, yet he cannot but feel that our spirit and being are derived from the life of nature. He expresses this feeling of oneness with material nature in his *Transformation* :

'Portion of this yew
Is a man my grandsire knew
Bosomed here at its foot.
The branch may be his wife
A ruddy human life
Now turned to green shoot
These grasses must be made
Of her who often prayed
Last century for repose,
And the fair girl long ago
Whom I often tried to know
May be entering the rose.'

(iii) *Bridges' influence*

Bridges, inspite of his studied Platonism, stands as a modern poet for his accurate observation of nature, almost to a scientific precision, his rare gift of combining colour with direct images of nature and for his complete surrender to beauteous things on earth. 'The greatness of his nature-poems,' as says J. C. Squire, 'is derived not soley from his knowledge of botany, but from his genuine feeling for it, the eye of love:'

'I love all beauteous things,
I seek and adore them.'

This trait makes him one of the nature-poets, 'who seeks not consolation or dark secrets in nature, but texts of delight.' His

remarkable fidelity to things, his craftsmanship and his exposition of the new prosody—have had a greater appeal to the newer generation of poets who in this respect owe him a great deal.

(iv) *Yeats and the Celtic Revival*

The name of W. B. Yeats, on the otherhand, is more associated with the revival of interest in the Celtic literature. The Celtic influence long disregarded, came to be regarded as not less a potent factor in English poetry. The Celtic Revival (from 1880 to 1890) in its essence became a movement towards the simplification of life by suggesting an escape to the dream of the old-day world of the Celtic imagination. Indeed so far as the Twentieth century 'return to nature' is concerned this influence is very great, in as much as the Celtic poets, ardent, imaginative, and emotional as they were, struck a personal note of deep intimacy with nature, as found in the songs of 'Ossian.' Though steeped in the imaginative mysticism of the Celtic lore Yeats's inspiration enjoys a very supple and careless youth and with his native raciness and strength he comes down to this earthly paradise to enjoy its simple joys:

'I will arise and go now, and to Innisfree,
And a small cabin build there, of clay and wattles made;
Nine bean rows will I have there, a hive for the honey bee,
And live alone in the bee-loud glade.

... —

I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore,
While I stand on the road-way or on the pavements grey,
I hear it in the deep heart's core.'

Now to summarise: the earth-worship of Meredith with his deep joy in the physical universe, Hardy's evolutionary attitude towards this universe and Bridges's self-surrender to beauteous things in nature with his power of accurate and precise observation, and Yeats's supple and racy inspiration with his mortal longing for the earthly paradise—all these have more or less, had an influence upon the younger generation of poets.

§ 5. AN APPROACH TO THE MODERN ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATURE

(i) *A simple delight in nature*

The modern attitude towards nature is direct and simple. A thing of beauty in nature is a joy for itself. A modern poet more keenly rejoices in the thought of simple things in nature, earth and grass, birds and flowers, and in the thought of a deeper kinship with them, because the breathless hurry of modern civilisation carries him far away. 'That we are over busy with life,' says Mr. Binyon, 'is no reason for poetry and art to reflect that fever and bustle, rather should they embody the interior, the imaginative life. We express our own age by resisting it, by creating something which will outlast its fevers and disillusion.' It is an obvious truth so far as the main trend of the Georgian poetry is concerned. Particularly, a poet of the Georgian Revival would 'prefer Nature's slum' and 'leisurely count the oak trees one by one.' Or he would be likely to burst forth into a lyrical rapture when he would listen to 'the sweet singing rills' at the very advent of dawn:

' When on a summer morn I wake
And open my two eyes,
Out to the clear born-singing rills
My bird-like spirit flies.'

Thus sings W. H. Davies, the nature-lyrist of the century. He is sometimes compared with Wordsworth for his continued fresh delight in all beautiful things and specially for his deliberate dismissal of that side of things which so torments some of the contemporary poets. But while Wordsworth was concerned with what Nature did for his philosophy, he chiefly busies himself with the effect that Nature produces on his eyes. He does not see shining through the finite forms of nature the light of the Infinite, 'the light that never was on sea or land.' He is, as it were, living in a world of vivid amazement and intense joy, a world of sunniness, with 'cows' and 'sheep' and 'owls' and 'cuckoos,' and 'toads,' 'butterflies' and 'squirrels' and 'pears, grass,' and 'snow printed with birds' feet.' John Drinkwater looks from *A Town Window*, and sees some poetry even in the drab inglorious street. But he soon carries us beyond the street to the Warwick woods at *night*, to the same woods in the *spring* 'when the crocus blazes forth in flame of gold.'

(ii) *A Surrender of Eye and Ear to the Immediate Joy
that springs from Natural Beauty.*

The surrender of eye and ear to the joy that springs from immediate intuitions of nature is a characteristic feature of modern poetry. Harold Monro's *Week-End* shows what a superb joy the poet feels when he comes into the open countryside from the din and bustle of London :

“ The fresh air moves like water round a boat.
The white clouds wander. Let us wander too.
The whining wavering plovers flat and float.
That crow is flying after the cuckoo.
Look! Look! They're gone, what are the forest trees calling.
Oh what a lovely bank! Give me your hand,
Die down and press your heart against the ground.
Let us both listen till we understand
Each through the other every natural sound
I cannot hear anything.....to-day can you?
But far and near Cuckoo Cuckoo Cuckoo?

Here in these lines we get a distant echo of Keats's *To One Who has been long in City pent*. Rejoicing sumptuously like Keats in the open-air life of the countryside he at once differs from him in his never-failing joy purely in things of nature. He does not mourn like Keats for so joyous a day :—

‘ That so soon has glided by
Even like the passage of an angel's tear
That falls through the clear ether silently.’

Naturally a modern poet is not concerned with the thought of the passing away of things. His is the instantaneous response to the immediate appeal of the instant. If he sometimes feels a ‘ vain-longing for lovely things that pass ’ as De la Mare, he draws an abiding solace from the thought that the stream of lovely things remains the same, but the lovely eyes that watch it change. So he invites us ‘ to look our last on all things lovely every hour.’

§ 6. A REVOLT AGAINST THE URBANISM OF THE NINETIES :
A PASTORAL NOTE

The poets of the nineties, as we have seen, had had their own reaction against the starch and shoe-polish of town life, and the escape of townsmen into the country-side was a very marked feature of the bucolic movement of the time. And the Georgian poets like Monro and Brooke intensify that creed of the early reaction. Brooke echoes this same wistfulness in his *Grantchester* which an Englishman abroad 'would feel for his. 'green water-meadows ' and 'star-proof elms.'

'..... Would I were
In Grantchester, in Grantchester
Some it may be, can get it in touch
With Nature there or Earth or such.
... ..
Ah God! to see the branches stir
Across the moon at Grantchester,
To smell the thrilling sweet and rotten
Unforgettable and unforgotten
River smell, and hear the breeze
Sobbing in the little trees.
Say, do the elm-clumps greatly stand
Still guardians of that holy land ?'

He does not want any pastoral village with a 'faun peeping through the green' or 'with the goat-foot piping low.' He wants a snug English village, 'Shelford' or 'Barton' where he would find more comfort in the domestic tea-table, or in

'The benison of hot water, furs to touch
The good smell of clothes
The friendly bread and many tasting food
The cool kindliness of sheets, that soon
Smooth away trouble, and the rough male kiss
Of blankets, ... grainy wood

This homeliness is but a part of drifting back towards little and simple things, and Brooke is not only a pioneer in this direction, Mr. De La Mare also becomes a household word for his simple and delightful nursery songs, and Mr. Monro in his poem like *Milk for the Cat* intensifies the same craze for simple and homely things.

Victoria Sackville West, one of the most modern poets, strikes almost a Virgilian note, in her intense love for the pastoral England. It is true that dynasty after dynasty will pass away, but sheep-shearing and husbandry will go on for ever. The advent of science and modern industry may have their strange metamorphosis, but rural instincts are not wholly extinct from the poet's mind. While Mr. Davies, in his exasperation of the city-life, may be vagabondising in the country,¹ Sackville West sings the epic of the soil for its own sake :

' I sing once more
 The mild continuous epic of this soil,
 Haysel and harvest, tilth and husbandry;
 I tell of mare and dung, and of the means
 That break the unkindly spirit of the clay;
 I tell the things I know, the things I know
 Before I know them immemorially.

... ..

The country habit has me by the heart,
 For he is betwitched for ever who has seen,
 Not with his eyes but with his vision, spring
 Flow down the woods and stipple leaves with sun,
 As each man knows the life that fits him best.
 The shape it makes in his soul, the tune, the tone
 And after ranging on tentative flight
 Stoops like Merlin to the constant lure
 The country-habit has me by the heart.

—*Winter.*

She interprets the life of plain husbandry with an exact observation of a peasant girl, and with varying blank verse, gives us a number of stanzas beautiful enough ' to make an almanac into pure literature.'

¹ The life is sweetest; in the wood
 I hear no children cry for food;
 I see no woman white with care;
 No man with muscles wasting here.
 For when I am in great places,
 I see ten thousands suffering faces,
 Before me stares a wolfish eye,
 Behind me creeps a groan or sigh.

—*In The Country*—Davies.

§ 7. A FEELING OF FRIENDLINESS WITH THE OBJECTS OF NATURE

Sometimes the poet does more than express his love for homely things or wild things in nature. Mr. Davies is conscious of the mutual friendliness that exists between him and Nature:

‘ Say what you like,
All things love me,
Horse, Cow and Mouse
Bird, Moth and Bee.’

The feeling of this friendliness is sometimes carried to an extremity in the poems of Ralph Hodgson who has been deeply hurt by the inhuman barbarity of the *Stupidity Street* where ‘the sweet-singing birds are sold for the people to eat.’ And he is often saddened by the thought that the wild birds and beasts are snatched away from their wild home to serve the purposes of man, while the forest in winter starves for them. The poet’s *Bull* is a life-story of an animal told with a genuine feeling of sympathy that is seldom found even in the tale of human life:

‘ See an old unhappy bull
Sick in soul and body both
Slouching in the undergrowth
Of the forest beautiful,
Banished from the herd he led
Bulls and cows a thousand head.’ etc.

§ 8. A FEELING OF ONENESS WITH THE MATERIAL UNIVERSE

But the poet sometimes feels that he is more than a ‘Nature’s friend.’ He thinks that he is of the same substance with Nature. He is as if born of her matrix through innumerable processes of evolution, ‘the highest summit achieved by countless climbing cells of protoplasm that have perpetuated themselves in grass, coral, frog fish and feathered eagle from generation to generation.’ The primitive people also thought that they were of the same substance with Nature. But their belief was superstitious. With the moderns it is a faith,—a religion deeply confirmed by modern science. This

feeling of oneness with material nature is perpetuated in many poems of to-day. When Mr. Monro in this *Strange Meeting* says:

' A flower is looking through the ground
Blinking at the April weather,
Now a child has seen this flower.
Now they go and play together.
Now it seems that flower will speak
And will call the child its brother,
But oh! strange forgetfulness
They do not recognise each other.—'

—he does not mean by it an Arcadian reverie in Nature, nor 'the overflow of human realm' upon the outer forms of Nature, nor even the Romantic identification of self with the brooding spirit of Nature. The poet thinks that perhaps by the very processes of our 'being' we have some 'blood relation' with the flower, but he is at a loss to find out the wherefore of this strange silence and forgetfulness. Thomas Hardy, the older poet of the nineties, gave expression to the same idea. I have already quoted (in Chapter I), to show his affinity with modern thought. Gerald Gould's *Earth Child* illustrates this point more clearly:

' Out of the veins of the world comes this blood of me,
The heart that beats in my side is the heart of the sea.
The hills have known me of old, and they do not forget
Long ago was I friends with the wind; I am friends with it yet.
The hills are grey, they are strange; they breed desire
Of a time that the feet may march to and not tire;
For always up in the distance the thin roads wind,
And passing out of sight they pass not out of my mind.
I am glad when morning and evening alter the skies,
There speaks no voice of the stars, but mine voice replies;
When wave on wave all night cries out in its need
I listen, I understand, my heart takes heed.
Out of the red-brown earth, out of the grey-brown streams,
Came this perilous body, of perilous dreams.
To the ends of all waters and lands, they are tossed, they are
whirled
For my dreams are one with my body, yea, one with this world.'

To such poets to reduce this material universe to a metaphysical system is nothing but to succumb to a barren purposiveness against

which he vehemently protests. Should not the body of Beauty be admired for its own sake? Why should we question about what is metaphysical or transcendental? So the poet bids us leave all vain questioning, and to enjoy the body of Beauty when we have time:

' Leave the vain questioning? Is not the rose ?
Sing not the bird ere to rest it goes?
Hath not in miracle brave June returned?
Burns not her beauty as of old it burned?
So foolish one to roam
So far in their own mind away from home? '

Farewell—De La Mare.

§ 9. THE GEORGIANS' AFFINITY WITH THEIR PREDECESSORS AND DIFFERENCE FROM THEM

The genuine feeling for mother Earth, the simple and unsophisticated delight in the gaieties of nature, a complete self-surrender to her beauties, and a sweet mortal longing for something perfect on this earthly soil—all these that are the characteristics of the Georgian poets, are, in a greater or a less measure, found in the older poets of the last "nineties" and the poets of the Edwardian reaction. But the subtle difference between them and the modern poets is that the inspiration of the moderns enjoys a more supple and a careless youth, and their outlook is more widened by the experiences of the intervening years. A modern poet does not have the reflectiveness of Hardy, nor the scholarly austerity of Bridges, though he has some affinity with them in their clinging desire for natural beauties and their naïve delight in all earthly things. He shares with Bridges in his joyous spirit when he sings at his simplest in pure delight:

' Look! look ! the spring is come
Oh feel the gentle air
That wander thro' the boughs to burst
The thick bud everywhere. "

And he can 'ramble far away with him to gather primroses that grow in the woodland' or to hunt for the oxlips and the blades of blue bells. Or he may with some reserve enjoy with Hardy his 'opal and sapphire of the wandering western sea' in his *Beeny Cliff*

or in his *Afterwards*, he may more freely enjoy the sight of 'the May month flapping its glad-great leaves like wings, delicate-filmed as new-spun milk,' or the accuracy of the picture of 'a dew-fall hawk' alighting on the 'wind-wrapped upland thorn' at the very close of the evening.

The Georgian poet also carefully avoids the crude sentimentalism of the *A Shropshire Lad* of A. E. Houseman, but he may freely 'pace the earth with him, and drink the air, and feel the sun with him' when he is out in the open, serene and undismayed by any horror of human life. He gladly shares in the secret of his creating beauty by rigid exclusion of ornament as we find in his *Loveliest of Trees*:

'Loveliest of trees the cherry now
Is hung with blossom along the bough
And stands about the wood-land wide
Wearing white for Eastertide.'

He also carefully avoids the crude impressionism of Arthur Symonds:

'The yellow moon across the clouds
That shiver in the sky ;
While hurrying travellers, the clouds
And, white and aching cold on high
Stars in the sky.'

He again carefully avoids the formal and artificial nature of Oscar Wilde:

'The sky is laced with fitful red,
The circling mists and shadows flee
The dawn is rising from the sea
Like a white lady from her bed.....
And jagged brazen arrows fall
Athwart the feathers of the night,
And a long wave of yellow light
Breaks silently on tower and hall.'

—*Le-Revellion*.

Even he would be likely to avoid the 'tapestry-romance' of the earlier Masfield, and pedestrianism in his art when he poses to be grave, but he gladly turns to him when he invites him to the intenser experience of eye and ear, to his 'dirt and dross' and the 'scum of earth.'

§ 10. THE INDIVIDUALITY OF THE GEORGIANS

However, notwithstanding some affinity with the poets of the past generation a Georgian poet stands on his own individuality. There is no fixed standard which can label him to any 'school.' Every poet has more or less some personal difference with his contemporary in the matter of seeing things and of expressing them. While Davies has a gift for making us look at things as if for the first time, De La Mare invites us 'to look on all things lovely as longingly as though it were for the last time.' While we see with Davies 'that little hunchback in the snow,' we feel as if we had never perfectly seen a robin before. Every poet thus in his own way extends the bounds of reality for us. 'Even when we have invented a formula that seems to explain those things the poets have in common,' says Mr. Lynd, 'we shall find that each of them escapes out of the formula and has to be reformulated, or as I should prefer to say, portrayed—in terms of his own personality.' The truth is there has never been a greater variety of moods among poets than during the past two generations. But it is the passion for the actual and the local, which in spite of their personal differences, has placed them on the common ground, though not equal.

§ 11. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MODERNS

One may be led to think that modern poetry with its strong emphasis on things which are purely mundane has grown too earthly, and has consequently lost high poetic pitch and depth. It is true that modern poetry has lost the spell of Keatsean Elysium; it has also lost the Shelleyan yearning for the millennium or the spiritual hunger of an Arnold or Clough, but it has to substitute for them an appeal of direct simplicity, a clinging desire for some stability somewhere in a world of things 'that pass in a perpetuity of beauty.' Though the home sickness of Hardy differs from that of Yeats, and the homesickness of Davies from that of De La Mare, yet it is the craving for something perfect on this very earth that tends to relate them to a common tie, if not equal. While Hardy tormented by a feeling of maladjustment between our life and worldly being flings himself against the background of nature to depict the storm of his soul, Davies flies from the cruelty and horror of life to mellow sunlight, sweet singing birds and 'silvery cloudlets on a blue sky.' De La Mare

a poet of love 'shackled with vain longing' seeks consolation in the panoramic beauty of earth, which as he knows it, is a gay cloak in which our dreams and tales wrap themselves. But D. H. Lawrence tormented by the Moloch of passions, seeks in nature some emblems of his restless passion, and the beauty of nature he relentlessly drags down into the hot chamber of his boiling senses. Again James Stephens, while enjoying the 'sight of goats' grazing in the quiet furze, comes to feel:

' Something I can never find
 Something lying on the ground
 In the bottom of my mind.'

This desire for something is not a devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow. It is a straining after something perfect in the very world of ours, more because the modern life is one of great struggle and pain:

' Dark and lost amid the strife
 I am myriad years of pain
 Nearer to the fount of life.

—W. Russell

This is the experience of life eschewed out of pain. The perpetual flow of things, the impermanence of life and beauty is surely an eternal enigma to the poet of all ages. But the modern poet does not go to fathom the dark mystery of life and being like a Hebrew poet or a Greek tragedian of olden times. Quite conscious of the fleeting intuitions of nature and life, he is bold enough to eschew joy even from the passing beauty of nature. He does not, for this reason, leave this mundane earth like Keats or Shelley, and soar high on the 'viewless wings of Poesy.' Rather he would declare that 'there is a tragic element in life of every-day existence, that is far more real, far more penetrating, far more akin to the true self that is in us than the tragedy of great adventure.' So a modern poetry would advise us to look for our last on all things lovely:

'.....Let no night
 Seal thy sense in deathly slumber
 Till to delight
 Thou hast paid thy utmost blessing;

Since that all things thou wouldst praise
 Beauty took from those who loved them
 In other days.'

—De La Mare.

The poet knows the desire for permanence is a vain longing, yet he is not lost in a nameless despair. Edward Thomas declares in his *Melancholy*:

• 'What I desired, I know not, but whate'er
 my choice
 Vain it must be, I know, yet naught did
 my despair
 But sweeten the strange sweetness.'

So the beauty of nature, however transient and fleeting, must be enjoyed, and for its own sake, because a thing of beauty is its own justification. Thus a modern poet stands completely on a new ground. The wedding of poetry and philosophy of which Coleridge was so fond, is altogether lost sight of. The craze for philosophy, or 'higher thought' that pre-occupied the Romantic poets is gone, and gone for ever. But instead we have a nascent vigour and naive delight in purely all mundane things, a direct, simple, but a virile realism, a more poignant, and personal note of intimacy with this earth of ours, and above all a note of challenge against all that is 'too deep for human tears.' 'The neutralization of Nature, the transference from the magical view of the world to the scientific,' as I. A. Richards has aptly said, 'has made a return to romanticism highly impossible.' So Drinkwater defines the Georgian arena where he says:

'I do not think that skies and meadows are
 Moral or that the fixture of a star
 Comes out of a quiet spirit, or that trees
 Have wisdom in their windless silences.
 Yet these are things, invested in my mood
 With constancy and peace and fortitude,
 That in my troubled season I can cry
 Upon the wide composure of the sky,
 And every fields, and wish that I might be
 As little daunted as a star or tree.'

How different is the tone from the Wordsworthian invocation to the
'Spirit and Wisdom of the Universe.'

'Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe!
Thou Soul that are the eternity of thought!
That gav'st to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion! not in vain,
By day or star-light thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
The Passions that build up our human soul.
Not with the mean and vulgar works of Man.
But with high objects, with enduring things,
With life and nature, purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought
And sanctifying, by such discipline,
Both pain and fear, until we recognise
A grandeur in the beating of the heart.

—*Prelude*, Bk. I, ll. 428-441.

Pantheism is now dead and a bygone force.

(To be continued)

THE ABSOLUTE EXPERIENCE

MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR

BRADLEY AND SAMKARA

BRADLEY'S philosophy has a unique interest inasmuch as it introduces the question of immediate experience and lifts philosophy from the thrall of thought. Bradley appears to have the whole range of experience before him which is sub-divided into the sub-conceptual and the super-conceptual intervened by the conceptual. The sub-conceptual is a homogeneous mass below the definite order of conceptual knowledge. It is a stage in which distinctions have not been formed—a mass experience out of which definite order in knowledge evolves with the focussing of experience in the subject. This homogeneity is as it were the background of all formations in our knowledge, it is below the order of relations. It cannot long remain in this stage, for it appears that there is the constant urge to rise to the stage of clear and distinct formations with the presentation of the subject and the object. It is indeed a higher order of knowledge, for here the indefinite mass passes into a definite, coherent order of knowledge with its bi-polar reference. This bi-polar emergence is an advance, yet this advance institutes a limitation in erecting a boundary wall of our knowledge.

And naturally there is the urge in it to reach its truer homogeneity beyond relations in a super-personal experience where it gets its finer and integral unity. This unity is not a homogeneity, but an integral experience in which the distincts are not over-ridden, but transformed and assimilated, and as such is a higher state of immediacy than the bare feeling below relations. This immediacy is the immediacy of sub-conceptual feelings, whereas the immediacy beyond relations is a superior form of supra-conceptual awareness.

Bradley says "the relational form pointed everywhere to a unity. It implies a substantial totality beyond relations and above them, a whole endeavouring without success to realise itself in their detail.....

we gain from them the knowledge of a unity which transcends and yet contains every manifold appearance.....we can form the general idea of an absolute experience in which phenomenal distinctions are merged; a whole becomes immediate at a higher stage without losing any richness." (*Appearance and Reality*, p. 160.)

Thought as relational experience is thus hedged round by the two kinds of immediacy—the clue to the higher form of immediacy lies in the inherent urge to overcome the discrepancies and contradictions involved in the appearances, because of the partial and side-presentations. These partialities and conflicts cannot long continue. They have in them the demand for the fuller and integral setting. Naturally the relational experience is a necessary pre-supposition of the partial experiences developing into absolute experience which is richest and fullest in content. Experience before and beyond relations has an apparent and not true similarity. The one is a homogeneity, the other, an integrity, a harmony. Distinctions are not made manifest in the one, they are harmonised in the other. The emergence of thought is a temporary stage in the process of sub-conscious homogeneity passing into a superconceptual integrity. It is a step accessory to the higher experience. It is evident then that our conscious life attains its highest equilibrium in the comprehensive harmony, and there is in it the nascent urge to overstep the rational life in thought and to pass into it. Thought cannot overstep its limitation and commit suicide, but its very discrepancies press forward to overcome its limitations in immediate experience. It is selective and makes ideal presentations in which the predicate places the subject in a definite setting—but it can never exhaust it, it is the presentation of the character, and not the complete existence. Thought by its very nature falls short of reality; it creates ideal universes, by exhibiting the subject in a relational context, and by creating a relational universe. Naturally thought always moves in a world of limited reference. Thought cannot overcome the ideal world, because its nature is to form the selective universe by definite relations and is inherently incapable of passing beyond the conceptual formations. Even if thought becomes successful in overcoming this inherent limitations, it commits suicide. So long as knowledge is mediate it must have this character—it must suffer from incompleteness and can never obtain its comprehensive character.

KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE

The distinction between knowledge and experience is so often disregarded that philosophers are inclined to think that there is no experience beyond knowledge and if it implies some lively expressions of feeling, it cannot over-ride the logical distinctions. Feeling expresses the liveliness of interconnexion. This directness does not mean the dropping of relations, but their intensification in vividness and emotional colouring. The immediacy which annuls the relation is one that annuls knowledge, and if, therefore, there be experience, it suffers in concreteness and in historical continuity and integrity. It lacks life—its richness and content and its setting in an organic unity. This immediacy is the negation of all content and is, therefore, barren. Bradley does not mean this. Immediacy of Experience is a kind of knowledge beyond thought and does not suffer limitation of pattern-thinking. This does not mean that Immediacy is contentless.—There is infinite richness of contents; they are set in an integral totality and not understood in a relational setting. This becomes possible in experience which is not limited by differential setting and special universes of discourse. The immediate experience is a total content, a total presentation, an integral harmony. Bradley refers to Experience beyond self-consciousness in a span of comprehensive consciousness, which embraces the total existence without the least differentiation. Bradley refutes the suggestion that in self-consciousness Truth and Being converges, that thought and reality are identical; for evidently self-consciousness survives by distinction and that in it the object always stands against the subject. There is indeed in it a tension. This tension provides the urge for passing finally beyond this limitation in expanded consciousness free from the relativity of subject and object. Bradley lifts our consciousness to a plane where it is not regulated by the law of Contrariety, where it is dispossessed of personal setting and history.

Experience in its immediacy represents *consciousness pure* which is beyond thought and beyond all concrete determinations. Bradley's immediate experience is the locus in which all distinctions are assimilated. It is, therefore, the nodus on which consciousness moves exhibiting richness of content, but not distinctions.

Immediate Experience stands "for that which is comprised wholly within a single state of undivided awareness or feeling. As against anything 'unconscious' in the sense of falling below consciousness, this is immediate as being actual conscious experience. And further it is immediate as against those other special and mediated development which throughout rest on it, and, while transcending, still remain within itself." (*Essays on Truth and Reality* p. 173.) Immediate Experience is an actual experience with a context but which transcends all mediate reference and development. "It is an awareness, which, though non-relational, may comprise in itself an indefinite amount of difference." "There are no distinctions in the immediate experience, and yet there is a many felt in one." We can never at any time pass beyond immediate Experience, because knowledge here is always something that is actually felt, something of which we are directly aware. Knowledge may contain the object, the not-self, the relation between the object and the subject—all this is more than feeling. But again, the whole of it would be nothing unless we come to feel it as one within a group of experience; and that any actual experience should fall somewhere outside of feeling seems impossible. 'At any moment actual experience, however relational its context, is in the end non-relational.' Quotations may be added, but the meaning is already clear. We must not think immediate experience is a stage, and an initial stage in knowledge which vanishes with the revelation of distinctions—a vague homogeneity which becomes definite and coherent. Bradley clearly denies this. "Immediate Experience is not a stage, which may not at the same time have been there, and has now ceased to exist. It is not in any case removed by the presence of a not-self and of a relational consciousness." 'All that is thus removed at most is the mere-ness of immediacy.' And, therefore, this felt immediacy is a felt totality; this immediacy is characteristic of feeling. This felt totality is an integral experience wherein distinctions are overridden. In other words, it is intuition and not thought. It is not knowledge, because it overrides all distinctions between presentations and their focussing upon a centre thus forming an actual concretion.

What exactly is the character of this immediate experience? It is the feeling of a totality, which as totality is experience without the implication of a knowing process. The absolute experience is then identical content. This absolute experience is in the highest

sense 'an individual experience containing everything within it and nothing outside it.' The absolute is an "immediate, self-dependent, all-inclusive individual." It is *the* individual and naturally it is concrete. This is significant, Bradley's Absolute Experience represents concreteness because it is completeness. Concreteness does not necessarily mean a limitation of qualifying attributes and personality. The Super-personal is the concrete individual, as it represents the integral reality which assimilates all partial experiences. Bradley does not create abstractions; partial experiences are abstract in so far as they do not represent the total concrete setting. As our experiences advance towards the integrity, it becomes more and more concrete by assimilating partialities and by denying anything outside self-reference. When the Experience reaches the highest point in the process of assimilation denying mediateness and relativity and fully growing in self-reference and self-vision, it is then concrete in the full sense of the term. Concreteness does not deny self-reference, though it may deny the process of qualification of the self by the self. The Absolute Experience is not a qualifying process. It is concrete because it has content, though any distinction, native to the thought-process, cannot be possible there. It is then a-conceptual self-vision in its immediacy and concreteness. Concreteness implies content, not necessarily the distinctiveness of contents. The distinctiveness of contents introduces conceptual vision and reference, but the self-vision and awareness is possible when the sense of division and distinctiveness is withdrawn giving place to the integral realisation. This self-vision is supra-conceptual experience beyond all thought formation from which nothing is closed, and elements get a fusion in the whole by overriding the concrete reference of its epochality in time and locality in space, by sacrificing its character born of personality. Personality is a separating delusion and produces discord in place of concord, conflict instead of harmony. The Absolute Experience by dislodging itself from the false individuality affords the widest commonalty of Existence and the richest wealth of content.

Bradley's inspiration essentially lies in the installation of appearance in reality not necessarily as appearance. As Hoernle points out, Bradley's distinctive originality amongst the defenders of the Absolute, lies in the single-mindedness with which he holds fast to two points the one is Reality which does indeed reveal itself in what we think it to be, the other is that the revelation (appearance) of reality in

thought is inadequate as is brought home to us by the inherent inconsistencies of thought, on the one hand, and by the contrast between it and the various forms of immediate experience (also appearance of the real) on the other. "The absolute thus means for Bradley the solution of this fundamental antinomy. It is that superhuman form of Experience in which the order and the articulation of the world as we think it to be is re-united with the vividness and thrill of the world as revealed through sense and feeling. "The absolute, therefore, seems to be the quaint mixture of appearance and reality, thought and feeling. His immediate experience has the character of the two—content and non-relatedness.

The content *without* relation is reality and immediate Experience. But then as there is no appearance originally in Reality, there can be none there. It is all-reality. How then can we speak of appearance at all? Appearance is appearance at a point where the mind is divorced from reality and is habituated to take the divided view of things; and therefore, when Bradley makes attempt to install it into reality, it is no longer appearance; there is no appearance at all, it is reality *per-se*. If this be the correct reading, it is difficult to see how the question of appearance at all arises. If it is regarded as a section of Experience, it loses itself in the fuller vision. The appearance is to be conceived then as not having a status in the Absolute either before or after our illumined philosophic vision. It is an intermediate show true to the relative sense and understanding. The absolute only is, it is appearance when its partiality is reflected; when the partiality is replaced, it no longer exists, what exists is the absolute. The partiality has an individuality, but since this individuality has its status in space and its dynamis in time, how then can it have the shadow of existence in the Absolute with its setting relative to the mediate thinking. It is lost in the immediate Experience. The immediate Experience, logically, cannot be then what Bradley supposes it to be. We cannot have the infinite Experiences in a non-relational setting. The infinite Experience must be one, and since it is absolute reality, and since it does not represent any content, it cannot be indicated as Experience. The immediate Experience is consciousness without the polarity of the subject and the object. It is not even the subject as awareness. It is awareness. The concrete conception of the Absolute as individual is hardly tenable when the experiences are all overshadowed, when the order of

appearance is withdrawn in Reality. This is the natural leaning of Bradley's philosophy and therewith he appears to be not much different from Samkara. Bradley passes on to Samkara, though he may not have in his mind this natural conclusion of his thought. Bradley is appealing in releasing philosophy from the restriction of thought, but he could not completely shake off the snare; felt totality contains everything, every item of relation, transmuted in a whole. Bradley is confined to a mentalised vision of Reality which appears as immediate experience, because it has overcome the consciously felt relation of the subject and the object. Bradley sees the limitation of subjectivity, and points to Experience where this limitation is withdrawn, and which, yet, contains the entire wealth of Existence. Experience is existence. The withdrawal of subjectivity introduces the self-vision of the all-comprehending Experience. This immediate is *felt* immediacy as opposed to *blank* immediacy which Bradley condemns.

Bradley's Experience is not all-comprehending psychic vision, Vivekaja Jñāna. Its immediacy consists in revealing elements of existence in the high frequency of psychic being which otherwise escapes notice. It does not override the subject-object distinction, though it reflects the object directly and immediately, as a powerful reflector. Here the content is felt as distinct object and the felt totality remains distinct from the subject. Bradley's absolute experience is an over-mental experience, beyond distinctions of thought and content. The over-mental experience comprehending the totality of being in immediate self-vision without reference to any specialising or particularising process of thought. Since this over-mental experience is *true experience*, it is concrete and individual. It is "an immediate, self-dependent, all-inclusive individual. The absolute experience is the most concrete reality but not concrete in the sense of a subsistent. Bradley says a true individual is super-personal and non-relational." "Individuality cannot be gained when we are confined to relations." This indeed is not 'individual' in the ordinary sense of the term, which means distinctiveness and separation. Individuality is here wholeness and completeness without implying distinction or even a process. It is the all-consuming Reality which is individual by its uniqueness. Appearances have *pseudo-individuality*. Reality is the only *individual*, because it does not suffer limitation.

The over-emphasis on the nature of experience as Absolute loses the value, the significance and meaning of individual experience. In fact, in the Absolute experience our individual experiences lose all their value, their individuality, their destiny; since this experience is at every point an absolute experience, the individual experience has no meaning and value. Bradley's absolute experience borders on philosophical mysticism; it is like the blazing fire in which the flames lose their distinctiveness, like the glow of the setting sun in which the individual shades of colour disappear. This over-emphasis on the absolute reality withdraws all distinctions, and though Bradley may characterise such experience as individual, it really conveys no clear sense.

Bosanquet perceives that the maintenance of distinction is essential and therefore conceives the Absolute to be the concrete-universal, 'the concrete-universal is the clue to true individuality.' Everything to him is the appearance of the Absolute, the absolute is connected with the elements of existence as their essence, the absolute is supposed to be above the limitation of a personal self and is conceived as super-personal. The meaning probably is that since the absolute represents integral reality, it cannot be supposed to be enjoying a focuss in itself where from it reflects the concurrence of infinite relations and respond to the infinite waves of life. Such a conception resolves the absolute to a concrete person, entering into the orders of relation and value as a person. This certainly cannot be consistent with Absolute Experience. Naturally Bosanquet recoils from the conception of the Absolute as a spiritual organism or an organic unity, for the conception of a super-personal reality and the conception of an organic unity are not consistent. An organic unity has its concreteness and limitation, as it represents a centre which must be influencing and be related to the concrete parts. It emerges into a *concrete focuss*. The Absolute is the ultimate individual, not in the sense that beyond his individuality persons have their only individualities. None has individuality besides the Absolute, for all are moments in his being. The Absolute is the ultimate individual, the finite experiences contribute to the wealth of the Absolute Experience; they are half truths, and therefore, cannot be the ultimate individual. The multiplicity of things and persons comprises the content of the Absolute Experience. The Absolute is the universal-concrete; inasmuch as it is embodying in itself the totality of existence. This will be clear if the conception of thought is well understood. Thought is not a discursive method of

understanding. Its native tendency is not to generalise, but to constitute a world. Its commencement may be discursive, but in its final rounding up it transcends its discursive character and exposes its intensive character and "returns to the full depth and roundness of experience from which its first step was to depart." The intensive character of thought represents the character of Reality. It is the concrete-universal, in which every detail and moment of existence gains incalculably in vividness and meaning and is linked to larger issues, externally not losing themselves, but rising in greater integration in the all-embracing whole. It is the active form of totality immanent in every experience of the universe.

The nature of thought is then really to go beyond all disparateness and contradiction and to rise in completeness, non-contradiction and wholeness. This absence of contradiction and the presence of completeness are the true character of Individuality. It is self-complete. Any privation takes away this character. It is not true individual. It is naturally the positive of positives. Hence its essence in the richness and the completeness. Its content is stable and self-contained. And hence it is superior and prior to purpose. Purpose is relative to aspiration, to ulterior realisation and is indicative of privation in being and the absence of completeness. Hence it cannot be consistent with the individual which is not self-contained and complete. It does not fit the fullness and integral character of the individual.

Bosanquet does not stop here. He characterises the Individual as spiritual; thought is spirit, and by this is meant, it refuses all externality and is fully inward in character. There is nothing external in it, all determinateness and externality are finally absorbed in the free, inward character of the individual, for it is by its freedom and inwardness that it realises its nature as spirit. Spirit means self-expressive inwardness of being implying no relation, no externality. "Externality can subsist only as subordinative to inwardness, but inwardness can subsist only in the conquest of externality." This inwardness does not mean that individuality is emptiness and abstraction. Certainly not. It is in the highest sense full of content and integrating all elements, even outer, in the circulation of its total life.

True individuality comprises within it the whole experience. It is rather a personality than our personality that matters in the long run, what really survives is more than what really we are at present. The Absolute, therefore, has not a definite personality,

though it is individual. Individual, because it is the only existent, not a Person, because it has no limitation of being, and no special field of experience. The Individual is then, more a super-personal than a personal reality. The sense of a moral or spiritual person rises from the definiteness of its being, and its constant urge to a further evolution and assimilation of wider being, is still a limitation, for our moral and spiritual nature place us in eternal connexion with a super-person, it cannot rise above the limitation inherent in the concept of a person. The absolute must exceed the moral or the spiritual conception of God, in the conception of an Individual being which comprises the whole within it. It is an all-comprehensive Experience, unique in itself, exceeding our moral and logical notions. As supreme Existence, it overcomes all conceptions relative to our logical, moral or spiritual experience. These are sidelights which have no place in the central flame. Our experiences are contributions to the absolute Experience and constitute its wealth, but they cannot be traced in it. The flames of a growing individual experience and aspiration in their upward ascent towards the absolute lose their individual character, if not existence, in the all engrossing light.

The Absolute to Bradley is just like the ocean in which all individual streams lose their identity. In making offering of their content, they lose themselves. They are lost but their contributions live for ever, being fused in the harmony of the whole. The form is lost, but not the content which because of its formlessness, becomes one with the Absolute. The content is transformed and fused. As the result of this fusion or transformation, the individual experiences lose their distinctiveness and they can hardly be traced in the Absolute. The transformed experience may not negate all experiences, it is the supreme experience where thought is not, it is all blessedness, where every note rises in the harmony of absolute life,—all hues are clothed in the glow of the absolute, all music vanishes in the concert of universal rhythm, where everything is lost 'in the freshness and the glory of a dream.' The absolute experience transcends space and time, the status of our individual and empirical experience. They are also resolved in it, lose their distinctiveness and individuality. In this all-consuming absolute, it is very difficult to see how it can be said to possess richness of content. If everything lose their original individuality, there seems to be no serious meaning in saying that they still exist transformed in the Absolute. In fact,

the Absolute alone exists, and nothing else. The word "Experience" indicates a content, but it is hard to see how can one speak of content when in the final realisation and transformation nothing is there, but the absolute. And to speak of the ever presence of the content in the absolute because it is individual is to court that the Absolute admits a process in its own self. The transformed experience by being identical with the absolute is really the denial of experience. Transformation has no meaning where the individualities are lost or transcended. •Bradley by denying the historicity and the individuality of experiences have lost them in the Absolute, however, he might be anxious to retain them ever shining in its hold.

This really is an introduction to Absolute intuition. Samkara is clear when he holds that the Absolute is the negation of all individual or collective experiences. He has not attempted the assimilation of experience in the Absolute, for he sees its impossibility. The form and the content go together in invariable association, and if one is lost, the other cannot subsist, for they are the relative experiences ; if the one is withdrawn, the other has no meaning. They originate in indential activity, the specialisation of integral awareness into experience. Samkara is alive to the Unitive Experience in the Super-Personal Being which is in and exceeds the totality of Existence. This Unitive Existence still suffers a limitation, because it has a concentrated self and a centralised existence. This concentration has degrees ; in the Unitive Experience, it is all-embracing, but still it retains its individuality along with the individuality of finite selves and experiences. The concept of Iswara is concrete which does not brush aside the individual experience, but retains them as real moments in the individuality of its existence. This is not the case with Bradley. Of course, there is an attempt of indicating a still higher status in the concentration of the Absolute where the distinctions between the super-personal and the personal has not been formed. Both the personal and the super-personal are subjects, focussing either a limited or an unlimited field of experience. Their being thus rises in conceptual relations and cannot transcend it. But in the still higher status, where the force of concentration is not clearly indicated, and relations are not formed, we have a *plenary existence* intervening between the Absolute and the super-personal concrete reality. It is a-conceptual primordial reality with indefinite becoming, beyond the formation of subject and object.

The post-Samkarites accept such an existence as the primary emergent in the process of concentration. Bradley's Absolute is beyond all concentration, but it has endless content and is identical with it. Hence it is Experience. But here there is no content, content has not been formed. It is the primordial immediacy of Being-becoming which starts at the background of all concrete formations ; even the formation of Absolute Experience. It must be remembered that the Absolute Experience is concrete. Bradley's Absolute Experience is still self-vision, comprising the totality within it. This self-vision is not a process, still it is self-vision and therefore concrete. Here, on the other hand, there is no self-vision, but a *primordial indeterminate in its condensed consciousness* which still presupposes an existence which is neither determinate nor indeterminate which is simply Being.

DIFFERENT ORDERS OF EXPERIENCE

There are different orders of Experience in the subject and in the super-subject ; these are essentially concrete ; even in the self-vision of Iswara the experience is direct in the sense of an encompassing vision and transcends the limitation of a subject-object relation. This experience is not conceptual and does not take place through the intervention of categories. Here is the perception by identity because the conscious orbit of being is all-embracing and existence are in direct touch with it. This kind of self-vision is an immediate experience, but is not the final intuition. Everything stands disclosed before its self-vision. This experience is related to a locus which by its process of radiation and comprehensiveness of being does not suffer categorical relations in its knowledge, though the distinction of the orders of knowledge by the subject and the super-subject are clearly evident. The object has locus and distinctiveness, but this distinctiveness has distinctive character in finite knowledge of the subject and in the comprehending experience of the super-subject. The mediateness and the relational reference of the one is totally absent from the other, for the object as object enjoying a seeming independence with the finite subject is engrossed in the self vision of the super-subject. The world of not-self is integrated in the super-subject eternally and naturally ; though concreteness and individuality are retained, still its knowledge does not *require an outside reference*, for

independent and outside the super-subject it does not exist. This absence of a mediating process makes this an experience and not knowledge.

Samkara extends the intuitional reference to knowledge even in our concrete experience, for finally knowledge must rise into the living experience in the consciousness of the super-subject. Every fact must be brought to this reference; only in finite experience the external reference and relational form stand out prominent.

Naturally, therefore, there are orders of *experience* :—

(1) Knowledge which involves reference. This is the order of logical relation and categorical conceptions. Even, here, the final knowledge has an immediacy, for it rises into immediate consciousness. This immediacy does reflect the subject, the object and relation in an integral unity.

(2) Experience which goes beyond this kind of relational immediacy into a non-relational immediacy where the knowledge of the object is a self-vision and does not require to refer itself to anything besides self and its projection.

(3) Yet a third form of immediacy rises where the self-vision does not make a concrete reference to an object, either project or non-projected. This immediacy is indeterminate, the first two are concrete and determinate.

Beyond this range of *immediate experience* there is the transcendent status of Being, which does exceed these expressions and is immediacy of Being as distinguished from the immediacy of Experience. We draw a distinction. The immediacy of Experience suggests an abstract expression of Being which does not admit of a division in the integral Being, but still implies a convergence of *Being in Expression*. Experience, here, exhibits the being in its undivided concreteness but does not exhibit it in its transcendent status. Immediacy of Experience is, in Bradley's terms, not "*a mere immediacy*" but a felt-unity and filled-up experience. Immediacy of Being surpasses this, and is the plenum of Existence beyond all concrete or abstract expressions. Immediacy of Being has not the usual content of conscious experience—an experience felt and enjoyed. It is the status of consciousness and being transcending the immediacy of feeling. In the immediacy of Experience the two sides of relational experience,

subject and the object enter into a higher poise losing their identities. In the immediacy of Being and consciousness the question of even a poise does not arise, for there is no momentum or urge to rise in an intensive experience where the tension between the subject or the object is eased. It is unique and removed from all kinds of experiences, mediate or immediate. It is not experience. It is the supreme status.

TRANSFORMATION

Bradley writes "since both Truth and Fact are to be there, nothing must be lost, and in the Absolute we must keep every item of our experience. We cannot have less, but, on the other hand, we may have much more; and this more may so supplement the elements of our actual experience that in the whole they become transformed." A few lines after, Bradley, again, says in a significant sentence "every flame of passion, chaste or carnal, will still burn in the Absolute, unquenched and unabridged, a note absorbed in the harmony of the higher bliss.....in this consummation thought has been certainly so transformed, that to go on calling it thought seems indefensible." In our ascent to the Absolute experience, the normal dualities and outlook of life gets a thorough change and transformation, and our consciousness is lifted to a plane wherein nothing is lost, but becomes "apparelled in celestial light." The uprising of the spirit in its infinite ways is so harmonised that the individual notes lose their individual character and move with the rhythm of the integral existence. Bradley lifts our consciousness to the appraisal of the universal harmony in which the individual notes become assimilated. Such an experience, overrides all the distinctions, and transmutes their distinctive individual character. They have a sudden transformation as soon as they are separated from their setting in space and time, and integratised into the Absolute. This, strictly, is not transformation, but absorption. Transformation, strictly, implies a change in nature and being, without changing its individuality and uniqueness. Where individual continuity is not retained, it is difficult to speak of transformation there. In such transformation the individuality is absorbed. The individual note in an orchestral harmony cannot be traced out. Harmony is not a composite existence so as to allow the existence of the individuality of the notes in tact. The Absolute Experience, since it contains the richest content, must be the assimila-

tion of the individual experiences, but in the process of assimilation their individualities are fused or merged. Bradley's emphasis on transformation shows his concern not to lose anything in the absolute but it is hard to see how the individualities can be retained in the transformed experience without losing their uniqueness. A transformed experience must not deny the local character of the experiences. It must assimilate them without losing this character. The individual in that case will retain its historicity as well as will receive inspiration from the absolute and occupy a place in the totality of its being. Bradley's emphasis on fusion hardly allows this, and it is very difficult to see how the contribution of the individual to the Absolute experience is conceived, when the individual is made bereft of its individuality. The loss of their individualities implies the loss of their partialities in the Absolute. This is quite correct, but this makes the individual notes in the harmony mere shadows than realities. This certainly is not transformation wherein individualities undergo change but do not part with their distinctiveness. Bradley has been overcarried by the thought of content in the absolute, which according to him, cannot be reduced to an all-sameness and must be rich in distinctiveness, otherwise the content has no serious meaning. It is hardly possible to reconcile the integrity of the absolute and the distinctiveness of the contents. Transformation in Bradleyan sense does not help us here.

Bosanquet affirms that the nature of thought as the individual comprises their (1) inwardness, (2) content and (3) harmony. Thought comprises all the total experience, even our sensations not in their exclusiveness and abstractions but in their concreteness as notes in a harmony. It will imply transfiguration removing the disparity between sense and thought. This is imperative to understand the expression of thought in its concreteness through all the grades of our mental life. The customary habit to cut them off from the integral and unitive life and to read them separately carries with a rigid analytical outlook which life and Experience denies. The same is true of feeling. "Feeling represents the intuitive character of thought ; there is no longer anything to prevent it from reproducing the character of feeling in this sense of immediate apprehension, an immediate apprehension which is the totality of a mediate discourse." In this wise our activity also exhibits this essential nature. It never loses reference to the starting point and to the self

and rises in the recognition of the immediacy of free causality as independent of everything external. Conation is affiliated though not absorbed in thought. It is thought freely energising itself and moving spontaneously to remove externality and barrier.

Bosanquet lays emphasis on transfiguration to establish a unity amongst the different experiences in our being. It is a necessity inherent in our being exhibiting the symphonic character of thought. Transformation brings out this character of thought in its prominence. It is not synthesis. It is symphony and concord of the discrete notes and tunes of experience.

Bosanquet has his difference from Bradley. He finds in Thought what Bradley finds in Experience. Bosanquet stresses the concreteness of reality, in which the notes have greater acceptance than in Bradley. Harmony is final emergence in our Experience; Bradley's reference to feeling and Bosanquet's reference to thought as clue to the lost harmony introduces a subtle distinction amongst them. Bosanquet retains the distinctions in their living unity. "The mind tends to arrive at experience incomparably more living and intense, as also incomparably more *logical* and *rational* than that of everyday perception." In another significant passage Bosanquet says, "Logical exactitude in the full and true sense is not a deadening, but a *vitalising quality*. Form, interdependence, significance, self-completeness are characters of thought as its best, so of vitality at its highest. This is the general character by which the concrete universal gives us the clue to the Individual." (Bosanquet, *Principle of Individuality and Value*, p. 59.) The living and unifying character of thought is born out in the notion of the concrete universal, "which is universal as asserting itself to the full through identity and through difference together." "It is complete and coherent—characters whose connexion is established by relation drawn out between wholeness and non-contradiction." The living thought sustains itself constantly assimilating and not denying the differences, which add to the wealth and richness of its existence. And, therefore, these differences should retain themselves in the life of thought enjoying the harmony of its complete life. Though Bosanquet is fully alive to the harmony of the whole, like Bradley, still he is avowedly more eloquent about distincts and differences than Bradley. Bosanquet is alive to the aesthetic harmony which is concrete, and which exhibits the details in their concreteness in a piece. The importance of the details are not lost here in the

whole, they retain their distinctiveness and contribute to the total harmony. Bradley is more emphatic about the harmony wherein the individual notes are fused. Bradley's reference to feeling as characterising Absolute experience necessarily throws away all distinctions, because feeling is not consistent with the least logical sense. It is essentially transcendence and introduces a plane of existence in which the wealth of existence is not felt as such. The subject and the content of experience has become the same. But this exactly cannot be said of Bosanquet's Individual or Concrete Universal. It is full of content which is felt and lived—through which the individual realises its concreteness and universality. It is, therefore, thought as a *living* unity which *outgrows* a relational process or synthesis, but which endorses in its completeness contents, which are realised as participating in the life of the Individual, and ultimately assimilated in it. Thought as a living reality destroys the disparity of the contents and reveals itself as a totality which transcends its factors. The absolute of thought has not its terminus in logical quietism, it is as the spirit of the totality the operative principle of life, as of metaphysical thought. Both aim at the supra-conceptual character of the Individual and therefore the difference between them is a difference in emphasis on the nature of concreteness. Bosanquet's Individual turns out to be more concrete than Bradley's in the sense it is the living centre in which identity and difference are reconciled, and therefore represents that kind of experience in which each plays a distinct part in the wake of the cosmic sense and harmony unfettered by its individual limitations. The distinctive note is clear. Bradley's individual experiences cannot be traced in the absorbing harmony, which makes an undivided note. The symphonic unity of Bosanquet leads on to the harmony of Bradley. It is difference in the capacity of assimilation. The one is a natural ascent to the other. The individuality of notes in the symphony of the whole loses their individuality when the harmony becomes deepening and absorbing.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Hindu University

An appeal for rupees twenty lakhs to wipe out the debt of the Benares Hindu University was made by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan addressing a small gathering of prominent citizens—at the residence of Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, a Mill Agent of Bombay. He said that the Benares Hindu University was an All-India institution, of which every Hindu should be proud. It was free from Government control and was the largest residential University which admitted students of all communities. Sir Sarvapalli conveyed the message of Mahatma Gandhi wishing success to his mission.

Assam University Bill : Educationist's Appeal

An earnest appeal to the people of Assam to sink all party differences and to help the Government with constructive suggestions on the question of the proposed Assam University was made by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee addressing a largely attended public meeting at Shillong.

Speaking about the University Bill introduced by the Ministry in the last Assembly session, Dr. Mookerjee expressed sympathy with the scheme and assured his assistance. He, however, made it plain that the Bill as proposed was not an ideal one. He remarked that a University that was only a department of the Government could not thrive and serve the genuine interests of the rising generation.

He thought that the University must command the confidence and respect of the whole nation and should not be a duplication of a low-type examining University. He observed that there should be no attempt whatsoever by any party to dominate the University. Finally, he appealed to the public to assist the Government with definite proposals, and referred to the special needs of Assam.

Lucknow University

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, the new Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, will take only Rs. 800 out of the sanctioned monthly salary of Rs. 2,000. The monthly balance of Rs. 1,200 will be converted into a fund to be devoted for the betterment of the existing facilities of the University students, such as more freeships to deserving poor students.

Scientific Terms in Malayalam

The work of preparing Malayalam equivalents for terms in Sociology, Physics and Chemistry has been in progress in the Travancore University Department of Publications. One thousand English terms in Sociology, 1,800 in Physics and 1,500 in Chemistry were collected last year from several text-books in these subjects intended for the High School and

Intermediate classes, and Malayalam or Sanskrit equivalents were prepared for such terms as could be rendered, says the report of the Department.

The terms in Physics and Chemistry were then subjected to scrutiny by two Consultative Committees, who selected a small proportion of the English terms as being of immediate utility for the purpose of proposed popular books and fixed upon equivalents for those terms.

The report also reveals that a scheme for standardisation of the English spelling of Malayalam proper names and words used in correspondence has been under examination. Such a scheme, formulated at the instance of the Government of Travancore, was sent to the Department for consideration during the year, and the Superintendent's suggestions and observations were sent to Government.

Industrial Development in Afghanistan

It is understood that the Afghan Government are contemplating the starting of silk, rayon, caustic soda, and match manufacturing industries in Kataghan, in Northern Afghanistan.

In that province big sugar and textile factories have already been opened. Marble has been discovered at Doshi and Pule-Kbimri and coal at Baghlan. The mines are being worked.

A Great Sanskrit Humorist

Delivering a lecture on Bhasa, the Sanskrit dramatist, at the local Mahanth School, Mr. A. S. Panchapakesa Aiyar, I.C.S., District Judge, Vellore, observed that Kalidasa could not stand comparison with Bhasa in his talent for humour. He added that the simple humour of Bhasa, often sarcastic and saturnine, was very appealing. He was much more modern than Kalidasa. His brilliant snatches of unconscious humour were very powerful in their setting and contained a deep meaning.

Mr. Panchapakesa Aiyar said that the ideal of Bhasa was the ideal of Ahimsa, as found in the Gita, not extreme non-violence. He added that these dramas revealed the existence of a higher and nobler form of democracy in those ancient days, than that prevailing to-day.

In his handling of the Ramayana, the speaker said, Bhasa had improved upon Valmiki, though it was a difficult task. Bhasa expressed reality with all its brutal force and terrific energy.

Unemployment in Ceylon

Speaking at a meeting at Moratuwa, a suburb of Colombo, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Minister for Local Administration, said that the unemployment question in Ceylon was very serious, and in Colombo alone there were about 40,000 registered unemployed.

According to a Government report, he said, 20 persons had died of starvation last year. About one-seventh of the population of Ceylon consisted of foreigners; and last year about Rs. 1,500,000 had been sent to India in money orders of less than Rs. 15 each.

"Show me any other country in the world where, when their own people are starving, foreigners are given work," he said, "if they could

reduce the present foreign population by half, they would be able to find avenues of employment. Let Indians be given gratuities and sent away and let the income-tax be increased. Unemployment was the most important question the country had to face and it was time to start active work."

Left Writers' Front

It is understood that the Working Committee of the All-India Left Writers' Front have decided to publish regularly a series of booklets on international, political, economic and social problems and each copy will be priced at four annas.

Mr. Santi Sinha Roy, member of the Working Committee of the All-India Students' Federation, will edit the series.

It is further understood that arrangements have been made to publish the series in different languages, including English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Tamil.

Inter-Varsity Board

The next meeting of the All-India Inter-University Board will be held at Chidambaram on January 6 and 7, 1942.

Andhra University

The Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University announces that His Excellency the Chancellor has fixed December 6, 1941 as the date for the forthcoming Convocation of the Andhra University, to be held at the University Camp, Waltair.

Sir A. P. Patro

Sir A. P. Patro has been nominated a member of the Central Interview and Army Recruiting Board which will meet at Simla on September 1, for the selection of Indians for commissions in the Indian Army.

Education Loan Fund in Indore

An education loan fund has been created in the Holkar State in order to enable talented young men of the State to qualify themselves for higher posts under the Government. Rules regulating the grant of loans from this fund and the studies for which the loans are intended have just been published.

It has been stipulated that a candidate, after successfully completing the course, should serve the Government if called upon to do so. If, however, the Government are unable to offer him employment within six months after the completion of his study, he will be free to seek employment elsewhere.

Vocational Education

A thorough training in several forms of vocational education, such as tanning, carding, spinning, book-binding, etc., along with secondary general education, is proposed to be given in the industrial school or "Udyogsali" which is proposed to be started in Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Board of Harijans for the uplift of Harijans in the city. It is proposed to start with 25 students at first, 20 Harijans and 5 non-Harijans, and give them a 2 years' training in the school. All expenses of the Harijan boys will be borne by the Board while the non-Harijan boys will have to bear their own expenses.

It is learnt, the Board proposes to start the school in October next during the Harijan week of the Gandhi Jayanti.

Miscellany

PROGRESS IN RURAL-URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS

In the analysis of villages and towns as social patterns we encounter the sociations of diverse types. Illustrations may be drawn from East and West. It is possible to analyze the "intermental processes" (Tarde) and "interhuman relations" (von Wiese) involved in highly developed configurations as well as configurations of grades lower in development.

We notice that the distinctions between patterns—whatever be the name—consist fundamentally more in the quantity or magnitude than in the nature or quality of social processes. Throughout these discussions the most ubiquitous category turns out to be mobility, change, transformation or metabolism in societal relations. One may say that to all intents and purposes the abstract category, progress, is the dominant subject-matter of all the concrete investigations that may be carried on in regard to the transformations bearing on rural and urban social patterns, whether Indian or Eur-American.

We may then examine the query as to what light all these rural-urban sociations throw on the nature of progress. What is the content of progress? What kind of social mobility is progress? In what does progress consist? What is the nature or form of the goal that the idea of progress conveys? Does progress at all suggest any goalfulness in and through transformations or metabolisms? Is it worth while to employ the category, progress, as something independent of change, mobility, transformation? These are some of the questions or perhaps aspects of one and the same question which it may be possible to answer from an inductive examination of the rural and urban mobilities or transformations as well as the diverse social processes and social forms involved in the "locality pattern" changes.

Problems like these have also appeared in recent years before other inquirers dealing with more or less identical or similar changes, metabolisms, transformations or mobilities. Two of them may be singled out, namely, the American sociologist, Pitirim Sorokin, and the German social philosopher or culture-metaphysician, Oswald Spengler.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PROGRESS AS VIEWED BY SOROKIN

In *Social and Cultural Dynamics*¹ Sorokin warns his readers against thoughtlessly confounding him with Spengler and other cyclists. "Neither the decay of the Western society and culture, nor their death, is predicted by my thesis," says he. "What it does assert is that one of the most important phases of their life history, the Sensate, is now ending."

One wonders if Spengler, pragmatically considered, says anything different. Spengler's "cycle" may not be equivalent to Sorokin's "crisis." Nor are the Spenglerian categories—childhood, maturity, senility and decay (corresponding to spring, summer, autumn and winter)—the equivalents of Sorokin's sensate, ideational and ideal. But coming down to the "brass tags," Sorokin and Spengler are virtually looking forward to more or less

¹ Vol. III (New York, 1937), pp. 535-39.

the same future. Sorokin's world is "turning towards its (Sensate's) opposite through a period of transition." His crisis is but "a sharp and painful turn in the life process of the society." "When the sensate phase seems to be ending, its road stretches far beyond the turn into the infinity of the future." What else does Spengler suggest? In one word, the old Shelleyan refrain: "If winter comes, can spring be far behind?" In the Spenglerian categories the world is expecting after the present decline the beginning of a new cycle with its spring-childhood pattern.

The verbal and methodological distinctions between Spengler and Sorokin are immense. There can be no unity or identity between the poetic-metaphysical philosophizings and romantic sentimentalities of one author and the statistico-historical, scholarly analysis and almost quantitative exactness of the other. And yet Sorokin's last word is Spenglerian in substance. "The most urgent need of our time," says he, "is the man who can control himself and his lusts, who is compassionate to all his fellowmen, who can see and seek for the eternal values of culture and society, and who deeply feels his unique responsibility in this universe. If the conquest of the forces of nature is the main function of the sensate culture, the taming of man, his 'humanization,' his ennoblement as the participant in the Divine Absolute, has always been the function mainly of the ideational culture. Hence the urgency of the shift from sensatism to ideationalism, from the subjugation and control of nature by man to the control of man by himself."

If this be Sorokin's prayer for the future he is praying like the old Hindu social philosophers for the advent of the *Yugavatara* (God-incarnate-in-man) and in virtually the same terms. For, the *Avatara* is in demand among the Hindus whenever corruption creeps in into order and bad customs are in the ascendant, and so forth. While praying for the emergence of the ideational culture in order that it may replace the degradation and mechanization of men engendered by sensatism and counteract the reduction of man to a "mere organ motivated by sex," "devoid of divines park," Sorokin is but repeating in new phraseology the condemnation by Spengler of the "degenerate" culture, i.e., the "civilization" of the cosmopolis or the giant city. Spengler's love for the culture of heart, spirit, soul and what not associated with the village, the country and the peasant is likewise to be encountered in the *milieu* of Sorokin's futurism. Sorokin's ideationalism is not necessarily identical in so many words with the village-country-peasant complex. But the analogy between the Spenglerian yearning after the springtime and youth is substantially identical with Sorokin's quest of the ideational.

It is interesting that Sorokin does not want by any means to be identified with pessimists. His theory, says he, is optimistic,² because "if it points to the decline of the present sensate phase and the probability of a grim transition, at the same time it indicates the possibility of the rise of a new magnificent ideational culture, society, and man." If this is the logic employed by Sorokin about himself he should be able to employ it about Spengler also. It is unreasonable to characterize Spengler as a pessimist simply because his book bears the word *Untergang* (Decline) on its very title. Sorokin draws the attention of his readers especially to the fact that his own book "does not predict either the death or decline of the Western culture and society." Perhaps he wants the readers to understand that Spengler should not be taken as an optimist because the death or decline of the Western is his thesis. But nobody should be

² Sorokin, *loc. cit.*, p. 538.

misled by such statements. In Spengler the death or decline is the death or decline of forms, styles, phases, etc. It is but the same death or decline of forms that Sorokin preaches when he establishes the end of the sensate phase.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SPENGLER'S OPTIMISM

The identity between the two thinkers is factual and pragmatic. It is inexplicable, therefore, that while Sorokin in his peroration is supremely conscious of the "magnificent ideational culture, society, man" that are supposed to be coming, he should forget to give the Devil his due and to recognize in Spengler's thesis the promise of "cultures yet to be."³ Spengler's is not a closed system. No genuine cycle-philosophy can be a closed system. The regeneration of life that is going to take place in the twentieth century or perhaps later in the near future (say, after 2200), is an important pronouncement of his theory. Spengler believes that the will to victory of the exact sciences will be overthrown by the "new element of inwardness." He trusts also that an "infinitesimal music of the boundless world-space" is going to be developed and that it will enable Western science to "return to its spiritual home."⁴ If, after this, Spengler's vision is not to be appraised as optimistic, Sorokin should hardly claim to be so simply because of the prophecy he makes about the "taming of man, his humanization, his ennoblement as the participant in the Divine Absolute." Indeed, Sorokin's futurism regarding the "control of man by himself," "the eternal values of culture and society," etc., is but an echo of the Spenglerian new moral world.

The springtide creativity, which to Spengler⁵ is the highest object of glory and love, is destined, he believes, to return to mankind. According to him the separate sciences are "converging towards a complete identity of results." His futurism predicts a "fusion of the form-worlds," and a small group of theories which "in the end will be seen to be myths of the springtime under modern veils," "reducible to picturable and physiognomically significant characters that are the fundamentals." That convergence is expected by him as soon as a new Leibnitz or a new Kant is born "who commands the problems of all the exact sciences." In his vision "the re-treatment of theoretical physics, of chemistry, of mathematics as a sun of symbols,—this will be the definitive conquest of the mechanical world-aspects by an intuitive, once more religious, world-outlook, a last master-effort of physiognomic to break down even systematic and to absorb it, as expression and symbol, into its own domain."

The soul is going to be linked anew to the "forms of early Gothic religiousness."⁶ "In the sunset of the scientific epoch," says he, "the clouds dissolve" because of the rise of victorious skepsis, "and quiet landscape of the morning reappears in all distinctness."

Be it observed at once that I am not a Spenglerian. In my analysis of rural-urban differentiations I always oppose the dichotomy of Tönnies as much as that of Spengler who may have been influenced by the former. The antithesis village-city is the most constant item in his antithesis *Kultur-*

³ *The Decline of the West*, Vol. I (London, 1926), p. 428.

⁴ For Spengler see B. K. Sarkar, *The Political Philosophies since 1905*, Vol. I (Madras, 1928), pp. 281-86.

⁵ *The Decline of the West*, Vol. I, p. 425.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 427.

Zivilisation. It is interesting that Spengler describes himself as a follower of Leibnitz, Goethe and Nietzsche and is "proud to call his work a German philosophy" in this sense (Vol. I, p. xiv). But he fails to mention Tönnies whose *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* has the most direct and immediate bearings on his fundamental philosophy. That the "community" degenerates ultimately into the "society,"—and, more concretely, the village into the city,—is the theory that Tönnies propagated through several editions of his remarkable book since 1887. Every reader of Spengler's *Untergang* (first edition, 1917) knows what a conspicuous place the constant antithesis between the village and the cosmopolis occupies in his ideology. The degeneration of the village into the cosmopolis is the concrete manifestation in Spengler's system of the degeneration of culture into civilization. The entire Spenglerian thesis is a wideflung, encyclopaedic, metaphysico-philosophical commentary or illustration of Tönnies's sociology and philosophy of life. One is surprised, therefore, that Tönnies is not mentioned anywhere in the huge work although virtually every page of it appears to me, at any rate, as Tönniesian in atmosphere. Nay, Spengler is more Tönniesian than Tönnies himself because he has carried the antithesis of the latter to the furthest logical consequences which had been avoided in *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. That Tönnies is not an extremist may be verified by references to his analysis of the interhuman relations.⁷

The relations between Tönnies and Spengler do not concern us here in a direct manner. It is but necessary to note that in certain particulars of social mobility this study is against both in ideology.

Moreover, it should be added that in the present author's *Political Philosophies since 1905*, Vol. I, the observations on Spengler are, on the whole, un-Spenglerian. The following is being reproduced from that book: "After all, it is only a truism that says that one form or style of life is going to be replaced by another. But, evidently, there are few students of objective history who, as Spengler is not unaware, would be prepared to accept the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in point of values, as inferior to the preceding centuries, not to speak of marking a definite pathway downwards. * * * If the eighteenth century can be conceded to be 'Greek' and to represent *Kultur*, there can be no philosophical or sociological justification for considering the twentieth century to be 'Roman' and as embodying '*Zivilisation*'." In the same publication Spengler was described as "not entirely pessimistic although the title of the book might inject doses of dejection into the hearts of the Westerns at any rate."⁸

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

FEAR OF THE EVIL

While generally un-Spenglerian in fundamental ideology we are only trying objectively to place Spengler where he is in the theory of progress and the prospects of the world. It would have been clear that Sorokin in spite of his formal protests and methodologico-scientific differences has but echoed Spenglerian sentiments in so far as he has cared to appear as a social philosopher, as a moralist, or as an applied sociologist. Spiritualitarian futurism, consisting in the triumph of some *shiva*, i.e., good or desirable value over a hated evil (*a-shiva*), is the common ideological platform of both.

⁷ e.g., pp. 245-246.

⁸ (Madras, 1928), p. 286.

The goalfulness in both these systems is clear, and the goal is the triumph of the good over the evil. The exact words in which the good and the evil are described by the two thinkers need not detain us here. For the present discussion they are immaterial. It is enough to know that the fear of evil, the horror of some *a-dharma* or *a-shiva*, is the common feature in the two theories of progress.

Both Spengler and Sorokin exhibit a complacency in regard to the future in spite of their seemingly pessimistic analysis of the recent and contemporary situations. Each is convinced that something glorious and magnificent is tending to happen today or tomorrow which is calculated to spiritualize or re-spiritualize humanity. Even something of the Divine Absolute,—a Bodhisattva,—is peeping in. This Spengler-Sorokin theory of progress,—pragmatically it is one,—is fundamentally weak because it presupposes,—as an eventual consummation,—the totalitarian negation or subversion of the undesirables, *a-shivas*, or evils whatever they be in the diverse systems.

The persistence or survival of evil is not a feature in the futurism as promulgated by this conception of progress. That the re-spiritualization of mankind may somehow be counteracted, baffled or rendered somewhat weak by the re-assertion of the brute-in-man, the sensate, or the intellect and so forth is hinted at neither by Sorokin nor by Spengler. There is no suggestion in either to the effect that even under “magnificent ideationalism” and “return to spiritual home” all may not be “well on earth.” Progress theories,⁹ like those of Spengler and Sorokin, leave mankind no Satan to fight against, no *a-shiva* (non-good, evil), *a-dharma* (non-law, absence of order, immorality) to combat, no misery to challenge. Such conceptions take the zest out of life. They render morality and spirituality bloodless and insipid by injecting strong doses of victories won and results achieved. It is in the nature of complacent futurism to overlook the consideration that neither morality nor spirituality can flourish without some doses of evil to be counteracted and overpowered by man’s creative intelligence and will. But it is in these doses of “the brute, the ape and the tiger” that are to be found the permanent possibilities of progress. No evil, no morality. No evil, no progress. This fundamental consideration about the human *psyche* is ignored by Sorokin as much as by Spengler, in so far as each is obsessed by the prevalence of the sensate and the exact sciences. A system of thought that fears the evil, *avidya*, *adharma*, etc., cannot offer a truly human psychology or ethics.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE YUGANTARA THEORY OF PROGRESS

An approximate parallel to this obsession of speculation by the thought of the evil may be furnished from some of the older cycle-theories in Europe and Asia. One of the formulations of the cult of progress in Hindu thought is embodied in the doctrine of the *Gita* (IV, 7-8) about the *yugantarās* (transformations of epochs). The announcement of Lord Krishna in this work is to the following effect:—

*Yada yada hi dharmasya glanirbhavati bharata
abhyutthanam adharmasya tadatmanam srijamyaham.*

⁹ For the theory of progress see H. E. Barnes and H. Becker: *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, Vol. I (Boston, 1938), pp. 458-506. See also R. Flint: *The Philosophy of History in France and Germany* (London, 1874). J. B. Bury: *The Idea of Progress* (London, 1920) and Prafullaratan Biswas: *Farasi Manishider Pragati-Darshan* (The Progress Philosophy of the French Intellectuals, Calcutta, 1941).

*Paritrānaya sādhanam vināshaya cha duskṛitam
dharma samsthāpanārthaya sambhavamī yuge yuge.*

(Whensoever into Order
Corruption creeps in, Bharata,
And customs bad ascendant be
Then myself do I embody.
For the advancement of the good
And miscreants to overthrow
And for setting up the Order
Do I appear age by age.)

This doctrine of progress postulates the advent of the Messiahs, *Yugāvataras*, *Bodhisattvas*, Buddhas, or Gods-incarnate-in-man in order to embody the successive *Zeitgeists* (age-spirits).

The *yugantara* theory of progress belongs to the group of progress-theories as consummated in cycles. In the present connection the important feature of this theory is the conception of a situation in which *adharma* (illegality, immorality, disorder, corruption, anarchy) holds the exclusive sway and in which *dharma* (law, morality, order, discipline) has ceased to exist. When *adharma* rules there is no play of *dharma*. The theory postulates that a situation will arise which is to be the exact opposite of this. The exclusive rule of *dharma* is postulated to the total discomfiture of *adharma*. The cycle is as follows:—

—> *Dharma*—> *Adharma*—> *Dharma*—> *Adharma*—>
Dharma—> *Adharma*—>

This series is presumably infinite according to the *Gita*. Krishna does not conceive the possibilities of both *dharma* and *adharma* functioning simultaneously and on the same spot.

The *Gita* theory of progress looks very much like that of Zarathustra. The conflict between Oromuzd (Good) and Ahriman (Evil) is the basis of his teachings. In this conflict good triumphs over evil just as in the *Gita* doctrine *dharma* overpowers *adharma*. But there is a cycle in the *Gita*. In Zoroastrianism the Evil is to be crushed once for all by the Good and there is no question of a cycle.

The optimism of the *Gita* is voiced by Walt Whitman, the American poet. His postulate of progress is to be seen in the following lines, which may be compared to those of the British poet, Robert Browning:—

“Roaming in thought over the universe
I saw the little that is Good
steadily hastening towards immortality,
And the vast all that is called Evil
I saw hastening to merge itself and
become lost and dead.”

In this totalitarian and final annihilation of evil there is no place for a cycle. Whitman's conception is therefore more akin to Zoroastrianism than to the doctrine of the *Gita*.

The *Gita* theory, Zoroastrianism, or Whitmanesque ideology is, generally speaking, akin to that of Spengler whose formula may be given as follows:

Intellect—> Soul (perhaps)—> Intellect—> (perhaps again)
—> Soul—>

Spengler's hypothesis does not envisage the dualism in the psycho-social *Gestalt*. That is the position of Sorokin also. The key to Sorokin's scheme is furnished by the following picture:—

Sensatism—> Ideationalism.

As Sorokin is a vehement opponent of cycle-theories it is difficult to guess whether the ideationalism that he is hoping for at the present moment will be followed by a phase of sensatism and this, again, by another phase of ideationalism, and so on. But in any case, even without the cycle-idea Sorokin meets Spengler in the grant of exclusive or monistic sovereignty to sensatism or ideationalism. The dyarchy of both forces is not envisaged in his theory.

We may discuss the question as to how far the dichotomy is treated by the sociologists or philosophers in question as a purely heuristic or artificial and arbitrary or theoretical construct. Sorokin himself has referred to his dichotomy as heuristic. And yet it is obvious, as in the case of other thinkers who may or may not profess that their dichotomies or trichotomies are simply heuristic and not substantial or factual, that he has dealt with the social and cultural dynamics in such a manner that each phase or stage appears to be almost exclusively governed by one *ism*.¹⁰ Sorokin's conclusion in regard to the future with which we have started the present investigation is definitely in favour of one particular *ism* to the exclusion of other *isms*.

In all this evolution what exactly is the place of "idealism" in Sorokin's futuristic interpretations it is equally difficult to guess. His prophetic vision, at any rate, does not have anything about it.

About Sorokin we should not fail to make one special observation. It is only in regard to the philosophy or metaphysics of culture and human destiny as developed in *Social and Cultural Dynamics* that our position is opposed to that of Sorokin. But so far as the factual, inductive and statistical analysis of interhuman relations and intermental processes is concerned, we are in general agreement with his methods and conclusions. In this regard his *Sociology of Revolution* (1925), *Social Mobility* (1927) and *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (1929) are eminently acceptable.

One thing is clear. All the theories of progress discussed above,—Oriental as well as Occidental,—are pervaded by an innate fear of the evil. The idea of the evil is to each an obsession.

Be this as it may, the psychology underlying such theories of progress cannot explain many of the numerous problems of factual life.

In the stories of the *Mahabharata* we read, for instance, that the midwife, Putana, was set by King Kamsa to kill Lord Krishna, then an infant. She was at her job. But the sight of Krishna turned the witch into the mother. The transformation was neither magical nor miraculous. This is perhaps the normal human *psyche*. The mother-witch complex,—like the mother-flirt complex of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* or Weininger's *Sex and Character*,—may be the eternal and universal fact in female personality. Krishna's *yugantara* theory of progress would fail to explain his own rescue from the hands of Putana. One may start with this postulate about the dual or multiple character of every personality and go on modifying it and introducing exceptions, off and on, according to need. The hate-love, competition-co-operation, *himsa-ahimsa*, war-peace

¹⁰ Vol. I (New York, 1937), pp. 96-100.

dualities of every mental pattern may be regarded as the first postulate in social psychology. The *Gestalt* of personality is pluralistic.

The formula of progress as conceived here is opposed as much to that of the *Gita* as of Spengler and Sorokin. The individual as well as inter-individual *psyche* and *mores* move in this view not in the manner of the exclusivists or monists, as all the three are ultimately found to be, but in a series of dualistic or dyarchistic complexes. At every stage the world is governed by the complex of the two alleged polarities or antitheses, *i.e.*, *dharma-adharma*, *sensate-ideational*, or *intellect-soul*, etc., as the categories may happen to be.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Systems of Technical and Vocational Education in Europe as Applied Particularly to Industrial Callings.—By Mohammed A. Haque, D.F.H., (Honours) (London), A.M.I.E.E. (London), F.Inst.P. (London), Doctor of Physical Science of the University of Paris. Published by the Civil and Military Gazette, Ltd., Lahore. Pp. vii+iii. Price Re. 1-12.

This book dedicated to the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of Punjab, has a foreward contributed by the Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, Punjab and an introduction by Mr. J. G. Cowie, Inspector of Industrial and Technical School and Institutes of the Punjab. In the first chapter, the author gives a general survey of industrial and vocational education in Europe which acts as a kind of introduction to the succeeding five chapters devoted to a detailed account of education of this type in such industrially advanced European countries as Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia. The seventh chapter is concerned with the teaching activities of the industrial schools of Italy, Holland and Poland while the eighth and the last chapter summarises the general trend of western industrial education as a whole.

The accounts given of the industrial schools in these countries are clear and illuminating and as such the book possesses a value all its own supplying as it does in one handy volume information which would otherwise have to be gathered by long, laborious and careful scrutiny of the very large literature available on this subject. In our view, this book would be valuable to the man who would prefer getting accurate information with the minimum effort. This, however, does not mean that the information supplied is in any sense incomplete for we have found that all relevant facts have been very carefully incorporated. Those who are desirous of introducing much-needed improvements in the Indian system of technical education will find much useful matter and many helpful suggestions in it.

In our view, the usefulness of the work would be materially increased if, in the next edition, the author adds another chapter dealing with the American system of industrial education.

We congratulate the author on the very useful work he has done and recommend the book not only to the attention of all interested in this vital subject but also suggest that it should find a place on the shelves of every High and Middle School.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Nalanda Year Book, 1941, and Who's Who in India, 1941-42.—Edited by Tarapada Das Gupta, M.A. Published by Nalanda Press, 204 Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 704. Price—Ordinary Edition Rs. 3, Special Edition Rs. 5.

The principal contents may be summed up as follows:— Latest World Statistics bearing on production, distribution, education, commerce and industry, World Gazetteer, very detailed information on India covering about 350 pages of close print, Who's Who of the world and a valuable Who's Who of India, accounts of the Indian National Congress,

the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, an article on the present war and the political situation in India. Towards the end appear five special articles by experts dealing with the aims and objects of the present war, the problem of small scale industries, rural reconstruction in India, the place of machinery in industrial development and the effect of cartoons in moulding public opinion.

We congratulate those responsible for the publication of this Year Book on the success they have achieved in bringing together within the compass of a small and handy volume reliable and up-to-date information which can be gathered only from a detailed study of a large number of expensive and not easily available Government publications and blue books. The paper and the printing are good and the get-up praiseworthy.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Bharater Panya.—By Shree Kali Charan Ghosh, Curator, Commercial Museum, Calcutta Municipal Corporation. Published by the Saraswati Library, 1/1/B, College Square, Calcutta. Part I, Pp. xii+213—Price Re. 1-4; Part II, Pp. iv+312—Price Rs. 2-12.

A comprehensive survey of Indian products and their market has more than an academic interest. Owing to circumstances that are not above human control, the enormous possibilities of the Indian soil and the rich harvest which it yields in spite of severe handicaps has not yet been of much avail to our economic life. Our land is fertile but our commerce is barren. Our exports are extensive but our profits are poor. Our jute-fields, for instance, make a desert of useless abundance.

The two volumes under review are an enlightening introduction to the study of Indian commerce. The author has taken great pains in collecting the statistics of Indian products and their export and has presented them with precision and accuracy. The statistical part of these useful volumes has been made more illuminating by the incorporation of foreign statistics which enable the reader to ascertain the position of India in world trade. The author's observations on the uses and economic implications of various Indian commodities show much research, learning, and discernment.

We believe that the problems of Indian agriculture and commerce cannot be solved unless the Indian people take interest in their own economics. The author has done a great service by bringing to light facts and figures that lie scattered in numerous papers and blue-books which are inaccessible to the public and by utilising these materials for a synthetic study of the economic situation in India. These two volumes may be considered an indispensable source-book by the ardent students of Indian economics.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Higher Chemical Calculations.—By A. J. Mee. Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2. Price 5s.

The book is intended for the "candidates for the various Higher School Certificates, First M.B., Inter., B.Sc. and Open Scholarships." It is divided into the following chapters and sections:

Gases; Equivalents and Atomic Weights; Stoichiometry; Solutions; The Properties of Liquids; Chemical Kinetics and Equilibria; Electrolysis; Equilibria in Electrolytes; Electro-Chemistry; Thermochemistry; Table

Ourselves

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I. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Rabindranath Tagore passed away after a prolonged illness on August 7, 1941. His death is an irreparable loss to humanity. Millions of people in India and abroad have mourned it as such. We mourn with them, and offer our humble tribute of respect to his revered memory.

Born on May 7, 1861, of a family which for generations have given the lead to Bengal in culture and taste, Rabindranath showed signs of future greatness quite early in life. His songs, poems and short stories obtained ready recognition as heralding the dawn of a new literary epoch and Rabindranath soon came to be acknowledged as the representative poet of Bengal. Visits to Europe and America in 1912-13 brought him in contact with distinguished savants and literary men of the West and they were not slow to appreciate his genius. His lectures in London, Chicago, Harvard and New York on Indian culture and civilization established his reputation as a thinker and seer, and at the same time raised India in the estimation of the world. The English translations of his works revealed to the admiring West his unique creative genius, and his

profound spiritual realisation. In 1913 Europe offered its homage to Rabindranath in the form of the Nobel Prize for Literature. This was followed by other marks of regard too numerous to mention. Only last year the University of Oxford conferred on him the Doctorate of Literature at a special Convocation held at Bolpur.

The University of Calcutta gratefully remembers Rabindranath's close association with it as Special Reader, Professor of Bengali and Kamala Lecturer,—an association which will remain a source of inspiration to generations of teachers and students. Our University is also proud of bearing his great name on the rolls of its honorary doctors.

It is not easy to appraise Rabindranath's services to Bengali Literature and to humanity. Time is not yet ripe for this difficult task. He has created new values which will nourish the human mind for ages to come. The mightiest figure of the Indian Renaissance, he has stirred his countrymen into consciousness of a richer and fuller life. And he has forged a medium of expression for the deepest and subtlest realisations of the human soul. Rabindranath was an acknowledged master of prose and verse alike, but the best of him lives in his poetry which is imperishable. Its music and rhythm, its suppleness and grace, its consummate art and matchless beauty have enriched our literature beyond measure.

Rabindranath is no more. Who will fill his place to-day, to-morrow or a century hence ?

II. SENATE'S TRIBUTE TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The Senate at its meeting on August 16, 1941, adopted the following resolution as a tribute to the memory of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore :

“ The Senate of Calcutta University place on record their deep sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest sons of India and the greatest poet of the age ; through him India has given her message to mankind, and his unique achievement in the fields of literature, philosophy, education and art have won imperishable fame for himself and have raised the status of India in the estimation of the world. .

“ This University, which claims the proud privilege of bearing his name on its roll of honour, will cherish for ever the memory of his long-continued association with it as Professor and in other capacities. The ideals for which he worked throughout his life will be a source of inspiration to generations of mankind.”

All institutions affiliated to the University were given a holiday on Monday the 18th August as a mark of respect to Dr. Tagore's memory when prayers were offered and meetings held for discussing the poet's life and teaching. The staff and students of the Post-Graduate Department of this University assembled in the Senate House in the afternoon to pay their tribute of respect to the revered memory of the great poet.

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III. EIGHTY-FIRST BIRTH DAY ANNIVERSARY OF SIR P. C. RAY

The Eighty-first Birth Day Anniversary of Sir P. C. Ray was celebrated at the Senate House, Calcutta, on August 2, 1941, when more than twenty different public organisations, sent him felicitations. Sir M. N. Mukerji presided over the function. The principal address was inscribed on a copper plate and was presented by the Jayanti Committee. The spacious hall which was artistically decorated for the occasion was filled to its utmost capacity by the admirers of the scientist and philosopher, who represented all walks of life. Addresses were read out by the following gentlemen on behalf of various public bodies, mentioned against their names :—

Dr. P. N. Banerjea (Acharya Jayanti Committee), Dr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee (Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science), Dr. B. S. Guha (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal), Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad), Sir S. S. Bhatnagar (The Indian Chemical Society), Sir R. N. Chopra (The National Institute of Science), Sj. Nagendranath Sen (Khulna People's Association), etc., etc.

Sir M. N. Mukerji said in his speech that the ideals of the Acharya Dev which he had lived in his life were the proudest heritage of Indian civilisation and they were now needed not only for our country but for the whole world in the great ordeal through which it was now passing. A country which could produce a *karma-yogin* like Sir P. C. Ray, the speaker observed, should be able to look forward to brighter days beyond the immediate gloom surrounding us.

Sir M. N. Mukerji wished the great scientist many happy returns of the day.

Sir P. C. Ray made reply to the addresses, feelingly recalling his association with the many public bodies which sought to honour him on the occasion and gave them his best wishes.

IV. THE LATE MR. G. S. DUTT

The Syndicate at its meeting held on the 26th June, 1941, adopted the following resolution, mourning the death of Mr. G. S. Dutt :—

“ The Hon’ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate placed on record their profound sense of sorrow at the untimely death of Mr. Gurusaday Dutt, I.C.S., who was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service and a great social worker. His endeavours for the advancement of the social and economic life of his country would be gratefully remembered by his fellow citizens.”

V. A BEQUEST TO THE UNIVERSITY

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, D.Litt., M.L.A., has informed the University in a letter that under the Will of the late Ramgopal Ghose, who died nearly 75 years ago, the University is entitled to a fifth share of certain G. P. Notes of the value of Rs. 1,50,000, deposited with the Imperial Bank of India which has become due after the death of Srimati Golapmani Dasi, the widow of the testator, about three months ago. The endowment is intended for educational purposes. The University will have the liberty to lay down a specific object for which the money may be utilised. The name of the late Ramgopal Ghose will of course be associated with the endowment.

VI. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON STATE FACULTY OF HOMŒOPATHIC MEDICINE IN BENGAL

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., has been nominated by our University as its representative on the proposed General Council and State Faculty of Homœopathic Medicine in Bengal to be organised by the Government of this Province.

VII. LADY BRAHMACHARI ENDOWMENT FUND FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH

Our University has accepted with thanks the offer of 3% G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 20,000 together with an accrued interest of Rs. 600 payable in 1941 from Sir Upendranath Brahmachari who has specified the object of the endowment to be the promotion of medical research under the auspices of the Calcutta University to be named after his wife Lady Nanibala Brahmachari as Lady Brahmachari Endowment Fund for Medical Research. A Scholarship of Rs. 100 is to be awarded to suitable persons including Doctors of Medicine, Masters of Surgery or Obstetrics of the Calcutta University or to distinguished Bachelors of Medicine of our University who have obtained the Master's Degree in a scientific subject and have obtained Honours in Medicine, Surgery or Obstetrics. The eligible candidate should not be a Medical graduate of more than twelve years' standing and the scholarship normally tenable for one year may be extended for another year at the discretion of the Board of Management who will from time to time hold it in abeyance for utilising it for Lady Brahmachari Readership.

In addition to the above sum Sir Upendranath has promised to make over to the University a further sum of Rs. 600 if the scholarship of the first scholar is extended by another year.

* * *

VIII. DONATION FOR RESEARCH ON THE PREPARATION OF PERFUMES

Our University has accepted with thanks an offer of Rs. 1,500 payable in three instalments of Rs. 500 each at an interval of three months from Messrs. Calcutta Chemical Company, Limited, who have stated in their letter conveying the offer that they are interested in the researches of Dr. M. N. Goswami of our University in the preparation of Diphenyl Oxide, Idole and other perfumes and that they desire that further work should be done in the same field and processes evolved to suit industrial operations.

* * *

IX. A NEW ENDOWMENT

Our University has accepted with thanks from Sm. Tarubala Devi 3½ per cent G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 2,000 for the

purpose of creating an endowment for the annual award of a gold medal in memory of her husband, the late Mr. Sarojchandra Mukherjee, son of the late Dr. Satischandra Mukherjee, M.D., C.M.C.S., S.C., Ph.D.

The medal, which will be awarded at the University Convocation, will go to the candidate who secures the highest number of marks in Mathematics at the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations of the Calcutta University.

* * *

X. APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL UNIVERSITY READER

Dr. R. K. Das has been appointed a Special University Reader to deliver a course of lectures on "The Principles of International Labour Legislation."

Dr. Das was appointed a Reader by this University in 1937, and his Readership lectures on "The History of Indian Labour Legislation" have already been published by the University.

* * *

XI. AWARD OF A MOUAT MEDAL

Mr. Atindranath Basuthakur, M.A., who obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary subjects for the year 1938, will be awarded a Mouat Medal on the successful conclusion of his research work. The recommendation for the award has been made by Mr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, who examined the periodical reports of his investigation.

* * *

XII. THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN INDIA

Prof. J. N. Mukherjee has been nominated by the University for attending the fourth meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India to be held in January, 1942.

* * *

XIII. THE SILVER JUBILEE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee celebration which was held in the middle of July last.

XIV. ALL-INDIA FEDERATION OF EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS,
CAWNPORE

The 17th session of the All-India Educational Conference will be held at Srinagar, Kashmir, from the 25th to the 29th, September, 1941, under the Presidentship of Prof. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea and Mr. A. N. Basu have been nominated to represent our University on the Conference. Mr. Basu has been requested to send an account of the condition of Primary Education in Bengal to the All-India Primary and Rural Education Committee for inclusion in its "Annual Survey."

* * *

XV. RENOMINATION OF ORDINARY FELLOW

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Roopendracoomar Mitter, M.Sc., M.L., to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University.

* * *

XVI. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE STATE FACULTY OF
AYURVEDIC MEDICINE, BENGAL

Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., has been nominated to represent our University on the General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal, with effect from the 17th October, 1941.

* * *

XVII. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE PRIZE IN ZOOLOGY AND
BOTANY, 1940

The above Prize will be awarded to Mr. Arunchandra Ray, M.Sc., whose thesis, "Embryology of the Backbone of Apoda" was approved for the purpose by a board of examiners consisting of Prof. H. K. Mookerjee, D.Sc., D.I.C., Rai Bahadur Dr. S. L. Hora, D.Sc., and Prof. G. Mathai, Sc.D.

* * *

XVIII. REPORT ON THE ENGLISH TEACHERSHIP EXAMINATION,
APRIL, 1941

Six candidates were registered for the English Teachership Certificate Examination, April, 1941, of whom four passed and two failed.

The percentage of passes is 66·6. In September, 1940, it was 66·6.

XIX. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE
EXAMINATION (GENERAL), APRIL, 1941

Thirty-seven candidates were registered for this examination, of whom thirty-two passed, four with distinction.

The percentage of passes is 86·4. In September, 1940, it was 66·6.

* * *

XX. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
(GEOGRAPHY), APRIL, 1941

Eighty-one candidates were registered for this examination, of whom two were absent. Seventy-seven candidates were successful, of whom five passed with distinction.

The percentage of passes is 97·5. In September, 1940, it was 83·1

* * *

XXI. REPORT ON THE FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW, JUNE, 1941

259 candidates were registered for this examination, of whom 16 were absent. Out of this number 154 passed, 87 failed and 2 were expelled.

Of the successful candidates 3 were placed in the First Division and 151 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 63·4. In December, 1940, it was 63·96.

* * *

XXII. REPORT ON THE B. T. EXAMINATION, MAY, 1941

442 candidates were registered for the B. T. Examination of whom 4 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 18 were placed in the First Class and 225 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 61·64. In 1940 it was 73·5.

* * *

XXIII. REPORT ON THE L.T. EXAMINATION, 1941

The number of candidates registered for the L.T. Examination, 1941, was 22, of whom 19 passed.

Of the successful candidates 1 passed in the First Class and 18 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 86·3. In 1940 it was 93·7.

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Books in the Press

AUGUST, 1941

1. Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
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5. Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
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9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939 and 1940.
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17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
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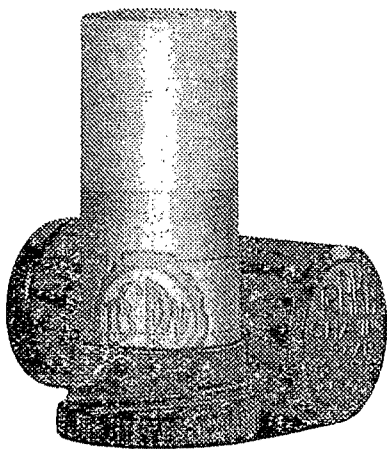
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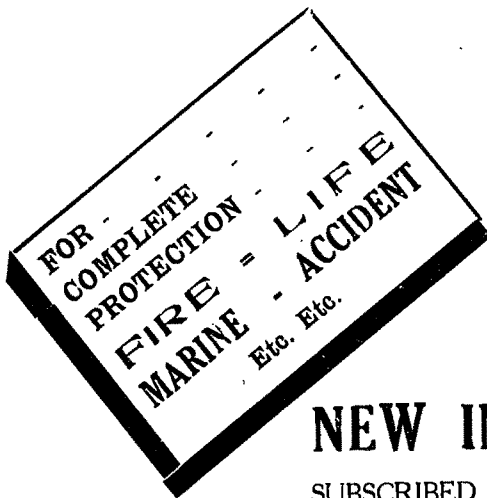
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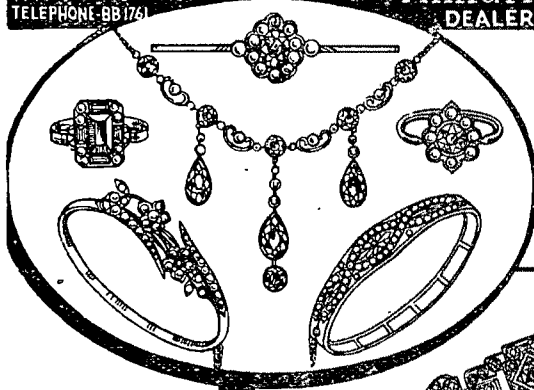
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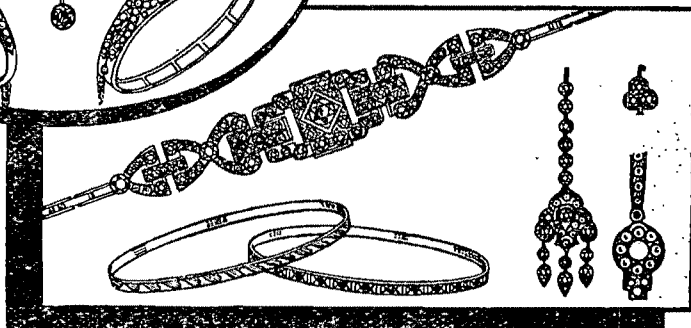
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1941

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA: SOME FACTS AND FALLACIES

SIR A. P. PATRO, K.C.I.E.

THE supreme need of the hour is to crush Nazism, defend India and help Britain to defeat Nazi tyranny. Let us sink all differences and stand by Great Britain in the terrible crisis. It is our foremost duty individually and as a community to contribute our best for the war effort. Hesitation or indifference is disastrous to India.

National Government or National Democracy whose arm is the former, is now the current coin in Indian Politics. Political phrases come into sudden fruition what has long been debated and the efficiency was doubted. The Great War has influenced men's minds to a great extent in the matter of political language and social habits of people. What were held to be political shiboleths and language of idealism introduced from other countries have by steady evolution emerged to be organic contacts in the country's political development. After many years of struggle the word "Swaraj" which was a political anathema and a term of extremism has come to be realised as a modern political *mantram*. Every man in the street and the country-side understands its significance. It offended the ears of Anglo-India and a certain class of Indians as well. Swaraj is now

the political destiny of India. Again, the political phrase "Home Rule" had a chequered career and the sponsors and advocates were marked out to be seditionists. That came to stay in India and a draft bill was said to have been laid before the House of Commons in England. National Government and Independence were proclaimed by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in his addresses to the Congress at Lahore and Lucknow. These statements were considered revolutionary and unsuited for practical politics. Gandhiji, however, tempered the interpretation (Jan. 5, 1922) and said "India's greatest glory will consist not in regarding Englishmen as her implacable enemy fit only to be turned out of India at the first available opportunity but turning them into friends and partners in a New Commonwealth of Nations in the place of an Empire based upon exploitation of the weaker or undeveloped nations and races of the earth and therefore finally upon force. Swaraj will not be a free gift of British Parliament. It will be a declaration of India's full self-expression." "Such Swaraj," he said, "may not come in that year or next year or may not come within our generation," but he contemplated nothing less.

Mr. Nehru said that Independence means exclusion and Isolation. It means complete freedom from British Domination and Imperialism. "We must have middle class leadership but this must look more and more towards the masses and draw strength and inspiration from them." At Lucknow he said that the Congress is not only of the masses as it claims to be but of them. The middle class are a vague group or groups, middle class leadership is two-faced leadership. In his own trenchant language he described the Constitution Act of 1935. "The Constitution Act of 1935 as a new charter of slavery to strengthen the bonds of Imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses, we must rebel against it and end it. Our attitude should be one of uncompromising liability and a constant endeavour to end it. How can we do it? We have to admit that under the present circumstances and so long as our policies are dominated by middle class elements we cannot do away with communalism altogether." Such was the interpretation of National democracy by the versatile genius of the Congress, to whom the Government of the Proletariat was the solution to attain India's freedom and that was National Government.

The Time-spirit has been working in our midst very forcibly and more rapidly than we imagined. The past nations of social and

economic inequalities in life were given place to more social and economic equality ; the idea of National freedom caught hold of India's mind, whatever be the sense and responsibility of it ; it is the democratic ideal of the eminent lover of American democracy—Abraham Lincoln—government of the people, by the people and for the people. The *mantram* gradually progressed in its passage into India and had charmed the educated people, roused their consciousness. It is significant that the goal of Indian freedom was referred to by the Under-Secretary of State for India, Duke of Devonshire, in similar language. The latest Act of Government of Great Britain in forming an Advisory Council for the Defence described it as " National Defence Council." Events show the rapid advance of democratic ideal in the country and consequent unrest among people. It is said the unrest is not so much political as it is economic, the ryot or the masses in India only care for good harvest, healthy cattle and good rain in time. It may be true in certain areas but political ideas relating to administration have so far permeated the rural areas that it is idle to think they are contented. The foreign elective system introduced into this country created great antagonism and bitterness in rural areas. It was demonstrated recently that a more suitable system than the British form of democracy should replace the present anomalous system which neither helps the village nor increases its opportunities for information and education. The unrest is largely due to this novelty and an apple of discord thrown into peaceful rural areas.

I have given a brief statement on the evolution of political phrases and in the way they are interpreted at different periods. We need not be alarmed at the use of " International Co-operative Socialist World Federation." The latest phenomenon in the world polity is the close and confidential contact between Great Britain and U.S.S.R. The Soviet had changed its old creed of Lenin and Marx and a new Constitution was adopted by the Assembly under the guidance of Stalin. Under the new system not only certain Parliamentary forms were introduced reserving the power to the President and the Leader, but the essence of it was representation by election on a system of franchise. Whatever be the details, there is a departure from the past methods and a socialism of a different type was inaugurated. Great Britain has been adopting the National Government policy since the war as a war measure with unprecedented majority and on vital questions a British Cabinet is at pains to take

non-ministerial elements into consultation. "The British Government as composed does not consider itself at the beck and call of party deliberations. To whatever principles members of an administration may be pledged as political partisans, their attitude must in practice be inevitably subordinated to the wider interests of the country for whose good Government they are directly responsible and to whom they have to answer; a body like the National Government in England cannot deal with important matters without endeavouring to obtain the greatest degree of Unity."

The vital basis and living force of National Government is National Unity. The transfer of power from the British to the Indian is said to be the aim of the British people, though it is delayed in action for necessary causes. India wants Swaraj as early as possible. It is also recognised by all public men in India that National Government should prevail. A Government of the people, by the people and for the people is a dream without a union of all classes and communities in India. It is not one or two communities but there are many and of varying degrees of social and intellectual development whose association is essential. The greatest requisite is to inspire confidence in all these various sections and promote mutual trust. This is a task before the representative persons in India. The British Government could only assist those that wish to help themselves. The Hindu Muslim Union was considered to be vital to National Union.

The next problem is the association of India States with British Indian representatives. The Indian Federation proposed in the Act prepared the way for an all-India Union but this was suspended owing to opposition from all sides. The Princes have to be given facilities to trust British India and matters should be placed above suspicion, their rights recognised. They must be assured of their position.

It is a great misfortune that we have not yet come to our senses; mutual distrust between Hindus and Muhammadans still exists. The untouchables are there on the borders of Hindu group. The non-Brahmins of South India, a majority community, are under the old religio-social domination of the Manu Dharma Sastra. "The Parsis and Christians do not yet know their future under Swaraj to a certainty. "We have not yet learnt the art or realised the necessity of obeying our own rules and laws," wrote Mr. Gandhi in the "New India." "These facts must be recognised and the recognition must

convey the difficulties of Union. The Union that we want is not a patched up thing, said Mr. Gandhi, but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the indubitable proposition that Swaraj for India must be an impossible dream without an indissoluble union between the Hindus and Muhammadans of India. It must not be a mere truce. It cannot be based on mutual fear. *It must be partnership between equals each respecting the religion of the other. It should be a unity broad based on a recognition of heart. If we want to save Hinduism I say for God's sake do not seek to bargain with Mussalmans; any bargaining would be degrading to us.* It is true that interested and fanatical priests and advocates in both have set one against the other. He said that "the cement binding the two is yet loose and wet. The Mussalman masses do not recognise the same necessity for Swaraj as the Hindus do. Sufficient time has not yet passed for national interest to be awakened among Mussalmans." While the lofty thoughts are working in the breast of Gandhiji, the action of the Hindu Mahasabha is unworthy of India if the report is true. It is a rank communal society. In the distribution of help to redress the distress in East Bengal the Sabha rendered aid only to Hindus as reported. A most reprehensible attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha—communal discrimination even in distress! On the other side of the picture, we have the clear and definite statement of the leader of the Moslem League, who is a staunch nationalist and more true and honest nationalist than those who dare to criticise him. In the Legislative Assembly he said the present need is for helping the war to a successful end and support to the war effort must be carried on; to the future the question of constitutional changes may be reserved if the occasion arises for discussion after the war, as also the question of Pakistan. He offered his right hand of fellowship to the Congress to meet Gandhiji and talk over the terms of peace and friendship between the two great parties. Mr. Gandhi said the time had not yet arrived for settlement, the satyagraha struggle might proceed for five years longer if needed. The responsibility of delay of settlement lies with the leader of the Congress. Both parties must come together as early as possible to establish a real National Government in India in a form suitable to the genius of India.

At this juncture, when the two major parties in India do not come together to settle internal differences, is the rest of India who do not belong to either of the parties to remain quiet and be at the breast

in private conclaves without asserting themselves that the two parties do not make up the whole of the vocal India? It is a difficult position without a separate organisation. Political wisdom would suggest either the leaders of the two great parties, Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah, meet together and form a strong central organisation of all individuals or groups on common agreed principles. The Provinces have a great place in the administration of the country. These are units for the organic connection between the people and the centre. There are two ways of meeting the situation, either the non-party people should start an organisation in the country and enlist popular support or the Government of India should take the initiative and meet the demands of Indian public men in a spirit of justice and fair-play. It is said the latest move of the Government in the expansion of the Governor-General's Council is commended to the people of India purely as a war measure, it should be examined as such and not as an attempt to satisfy or solve the political demands of the country. "By the changes announced today no political demand is excluded or prejudiced. The promises of last August still stand (says a well-informed correspondent). What the Government of India evidently sought to achieve was to strengthen the war effort and a closer association of Indians with the Central Government; hence the expansion is "non-political and non-communal." They expect the presence of non-official Indians will go far to remove the criticism, *i.e.*, Indians are not associated with war work. This being the immediate aim and objective of Government the Viceroy has succeeded in his plan of expansion but India as a whole has no good word to say as the major problems appealing Indian constitution remained as before and no enthusiasm is shown by any side from this point of view. The war had imposed heavier duties on the present council in the centre and as a matter of war emergency the subjects ordinarily dealt with by two members were divided among five members—will this arrangement increase the war effort in the Provinces? Will the people of the Provinces be explained and educated to undertake the war effort from the correct perspective? All that is now being done is done in the districts and Provinces and only those in intimate touch with the classes and peoples of the Provinces would be able to popularise by tours and propaganda of the proper representatives of the provinces. What has been done in this direction is not disclosed to the public. How could the expanded Council help in this matter?

The Congress Committee took the initiative for the National Government in the Centre—it meant that India should have the power of complete control of her destiny. Central Government should be fully Indianised and responsible to the Legislature. The control of Defence, Finance, Foreign relations should be in Indian hands. This is very different from what Mr. Amery explained the other day. Nevertheless, the Poona Scheme did not receive much support and Gandhiji dissented from it and resigned, his plea was nothing short of full Swaraj. The Viceroy's Declaration of August 8, 1940, which is not at all touched in the expansion of the Council provided certain definite terms, which could be improved by mutual discussion but were summarily rejected by all parties; thereby India lost a great opportunity of implementing a form of National Government. The Viceroy's Declaration was not the last word on the subject. A certain number of "non-party" representative men, rather non-congress people, passed a scheme of National Government at Bombay in the resolution they limited responsibility to the Crown and did not extend it to the Legislature. This is only another edition of the Poona resolution with some modifications. This same was reiterated at Poona. The Liberal Council was not behind these movements and expressed its views in unqualified terms. For all these the common aim was to obtain full power of the Government into Indian hands. I indicated some of the practical obstacles which have to be overcome to prepare the way for it. These are essential difficulties and we must face the realities as practical statesmen.

In order to arrive at the highest common agreement representative men from the major parties and others should meet and thrash out formulae to be laid before the British Government; otherwise we see the spectacle of 'mock-cabinet.' Government should take the initiative on the success of which will depend their attitude for the future. This is very unjust as the persons chosen were over the heads of political organisations, co-operating organisations in the Country. Moreover, it is logical that the expansion of the principle on which the expansion in the centre was formed should be adopted in the Provinces. The official element may be curtailed and representative men of the Province may be associated with the war effort and war Government. The Congress is not interested to ask for it and so the League, this attitude ought not to mislead the Government of India to which Sir P. Thakurdas of Bombay who has no other interest than that in

the Provinces gave definite expression. The same principle which the Congress advocated at Poona regarding National Government should apply to the Provinces also ; Congress would have no case to object. But the real position is this. National Government should prevail in the Provinces also to be able to press on the centre for rapid transformation. The Executive should be composed of the best men in the Legislature without regard to party, for it is needed for a more efficient Government. The members will gravitate into groups and parties and form into an opposition. It is admitted that the British Parliamentary system had not succeeded in India and democracy is a failure. As I said already, Mr. Gandhiji should reconsider the present attitude and abandon satyagraha. He is a far sighted leader. Congressmen are only ploughing the sands and individual satyagraha failed and the country is tired of non-co-operation. Let him allow the Congress to come back to the Legislatures and work on the basis of the National Government, because British Parliamentary system proved to have failed. It is supreme opportunity for all other organisations and political parties to be possessed of funds and workers to carry on rural work and win the confidence of the country-side and the people. Smooth language and sweet promises do not build up a political organisation, hard work and disinterested services are demanded by the Country. In this matter the Congress set a good example for the others to adopt in their own way. National Government is more likely to be solved by all parties joining hands, all parties and leaders united in the objective to be achieved. The British Government will then be forced to respect the demand for freedom and Indian Swaraj.

THE METHODS OF PHILOSOPHY

DR. S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

Calcutta University

A method of philosophy is a systematic and consistent way of attaining philosophical knowledge. What the method or methods of philosophy are depends largely on what philosophy itself means. If by philosophy we mean a universal science which unifies the truths of the special sciences into a consistent system, or a logic of science which critically examines the ultimate concepts and principles of science, then the method of philosophy is in principle identical with the method of science. Such is the view of most modern Western thinkers. The late Professor Samuel Alexander,¹ a renowned British neo-realist, was wholly in favour of this view of the method of philosophy. He thinks that 'philosophy differs from the special sciences, not so much in its method, as in the nature of the subjects with which it deals. The method of philosophy is, like that of the sciences, empirical.' This method of philosophy is generally known as empiricism. Taken strictly, empiricism is the theory which holds that all human knowledge comes from sense-experience and that whatever cannot be verified by sense-experience is not real. Hence if philosophy is to give us true knowledge about real facts it must be based on sense-experience. But a philosophy which is, like the sciences, based entirely on sense-experience can no more be philosophy than science itself. As a matter of fact, sense experience alone cannot give us any knowledge in the proper sense. Knowledge is a cognition of reality which is true and is known to be true. It is universal and necessary for all men. But sense-experiences, we know, are extremely variable and strictly limited to the present. Our senses cannot tell us anything about the past, distant and future. Sense-cognitions cannot by themselves attain the universality and necessity that pertain to knowledge in the proper sense. Further, what we know from sense experience are the appearances of things in relation to our senses. The sensible qualities, like colour, taste, smell, etc., with which things

¹ See Alexander, *Space, Time and Deity*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 1, 4.

are endowed have being only in relation to such sense-organs as we possess. What the reality of the thing in itself is we do not and cannot know through our senses. Hence if in our philosophy we were to depend entirely on sense-experience, what we should get is a very meagre knowledge about the phenomena of the world. This knowledge will be limited to the present and will be neither universal nor necessary. It will not also recognise any reality underlying sensible phenomena. We may indeed try to know the realities of things and the past and future conditions of the world from our experiences of present phenomena. But such knowledge would be only conjectural or hypothetical, and never certain and verifiable. Hence we shall ever be in doubt about anything but present phenomena. Empiricism as a method of philosophy thus leads to scepticism. The empiricism of Locke logically leads to the scepticism of Hume. The empiricism of the Cārvākas in Indian philosophy ends in utter scepticism. In contemporary Western philosophy we see once again how logical positivism is drifting towards a new form of scepticism through its insistent demand for verification of all knowledge in sense-experience. For it, all empirical knowledge including the truths of science is only probable, but never certain. It condemns all metaphysical propositions about transcendent realities as nonsensical, since these cannot be verified in sense-experience.

Two courses are open to the empiricist at this pass. He may either boldly go forward and accept scepticism itself as the proper method of philosophy, or he may retrace his steps and modify empiricism so as to make it more acceptable. The first course was followed by the Sophists and by Pyrrho in Greek philosophy. Sophism and Pyrrhonism are names which have become synonyms of scepticism. In modern philosophy the sceptical method has been followed more or less rigorously by Hume, Mill and the positivists. Scepticism as a method of philosophy consists in doubting and disbelieving every settled opinion, theory or doctrine in philosophy. The sceptic looks around him and considers all things critically but forms no fixed opinion of his own. He suspends all judgments about truth and reality. For him there is no criterion for distinguishing the true from the false, the real from the unreal, the good from the bad, or the right from the wrong. Every one must judge for himself what is true or false, real or unreal, right or wrong, according to his own feelings or sensations. Hence there can be no universal agreement among men with regard

to anything in philosophy. Further, the sceptic denies the possibility of knowing anything beyond sensations. All knowledge about realities like God, soul, matter, substances and causes, is illusory, since of these we have no sensations. If we think that we have a real knowledge about them, we are only deceiving ourselves.

While we may appreciate the sceptical spirit of enquiry, we cannot accept the sceptical method of philosophy. In philosophy there is hardly any room for dogmatism which assumes certain principles as self-evident and axiomatic, and proceeds by deducing conclusions from such unproved premises. But philosophy is not a matter of dogmatic assertions only. Even if there may be certain self-evident principles, we have to justify them in philosophy and show why they are to be taken as self-evident. Otherwise one set of dogmas may be opposed by another set and we shall be at a loss to decide between them. Dogmatism as a method of philosophy has long since been obsolete. The conflict of different dogmatic systems made philosophers suspicious about all philosophic systems and led them to doubt all philosophical theories. It fostered a spirit of critical enquiry among philosophers. The result was that all philosophical ideas and theories were subjected to a searching examination and nothing was accepted on trust. If by scepticism we mean the spirit of critical enquiry, then it is essential for all philosophy. Since the days of Kant every system of philosophy claims to be critical. Any philosophy worth the name should be so and, therefore, sceptical in a sense. But scepticism as an attitude of universal doubt and disbelief is not only impracticable but suicidal. To doubt everything is to make life impossible. We cannot live, as the sceptic would have us to live, in a world of mere freaks and uncertainties. Further, the universal doubt, in which vulgar scepticism ends, engulfs the sceptical position itself. If we are to doubt everything, then, to be consistent, we must doubt the grounds of our doubt and will have nothing to stand upon. A consistent sceptic should be sceptical about his own position. If, however, he stands by his scepticism and denies the possibility of knowing anything beyond sensations, he is guilty of the same dogmatism which he wants to repudiate. Whether we can go beyond sensations and know any reality behind them is just one of those problems which we have to discuss and solve in philosophy. The method of scepticism takes for granted that it is not possible to know anything but sensations, and is so far dogmatic. While the sceptical spirit of

critical enquiry is good for philosophy, the sceptical method of doubting and denying everything is the undoing of all philosophy. Philosophy may begin, but it should not end, in doubt. Descartes is now acclaimed as the father of modern European philosophy; because doubt was the starting-point and not the end of his thought.

In view of the fact that ordinary empiricism logically leads to scepticism with all its absurd consequences, modern empiricists are inclined to modify the empirical method of philosophy. They agree with the older empiricists in holding that there can be no knowledge without experience. But they maintain at the same time that knowledge comes not from mere experience but through the interpretation of experience. 'The method of philosophy,' they say, 'is in principle identical with the method of science, *viz.* the method of reasoned observation and explanation. It is the method of reasoned reflection.'¹ This means that the method of philosophy is a rational interpretation of experience. It consists in observing facts of experience and interpreting them by reason. The late Professor Alexander thus explains the empirical method of philosophy. He thinks that 'philosophy proceeds, like the sciences, by reflective description and analysis of its special subject-matter and brings its data into verifiable connection.'² It takes all the facts of experience and analyses them into their ultimate constituents and discovers their relation to one another. Modern empiricists are at one with their predecessors in accepting sense-experience as the source of all knowledge. There are no innate or *a priori* principles of knowledge which we know from our birth and independently of all experiences. All the ideas, categories and principles which our reason uses in the interpretation of experience come from experience itself. But although our knowledge springs from sense-experience, it is possible for us to arrive at universal and necessary principles, and also to know the realities which lie underneath sensations. The knowledge of universal principles and of realities is attained by rational reflection on the contents of sense-experience. In holding this view modern empiricists seem to revive the old and somewhat inconsistent empiricism of John Locke. As an empiricist Locke holds that all knowledge comes from experience, and yet he concedes that we have a real knowledge of substances

¹ Cf. Cunningham, *The Problems of Philosophy*, pp. 79 ff.

² Alexander, *op.cit.*, *ib.*

underlying sensible qualities, of matter, soul and God. He thinks that the idea of substance and of the relation of cause and effect is derived from sensation and reflection. Similarly, the modern empiricists try to base their philosophy on sense-experience and yet profess to give us a knowledge of universal principles and of realities transcending sense-perception.

Although modern empiricism tries to save itself from the impasse of scepticism, it is doubtful if it really succeeds in the attempt. It is true that it takes the help of reason to interpret experience and thereby arrive at a system of truths about the world of experience and the realities which lie beneath it. But if all the ideas and principles by which reason interprets experience are given by sense-experience itself, we do not see how we can get at universal and necessary principles or have a knowledge of realities beyond experience. We may interpret one experience by another or other experiences and thereby anticipate a future possible experience. In this way we may pass from one sense-experience to another, but not to anything which transcends sense-experience altogether. When the modern empiricist thinks that by 'reasoned reflection' philosophy can, like the sciences, give us universal and necessary principles or a knowledge of reality beyond phenomena, he is perhaps deceiving himself. The universal principles and realities of science are not really so. All empirical propositions, including the truths of science, are only probable and not absolutely certain. Whatever knowledge we get from sense-experience cannot be necessary and universal. Sense-experience can never tell us that something is true not only in the past and the present, but also in the unknown future and in distant regions. All that we can know from sense-experience is that something is true so far as our experience goes, and not that it *must* be true even where our experience does not extend. Hence if the principles by which reason interprets experience be themselves empirical, they would be no more universal and necessary than the experiences which generate them. Further, sense-experience cannot give us a knowledge of the realities which underlie sensations. We may interpret sensations by the ideas or categories of reason. But if these ideas and categories are themselves the products of sensations, they cannot possibly help us to go beyond sensations and know anything which lies beneath them. It may here be said by the empiricist that the real is just what is given in experience and that there is no

other reality beyond it. But if by experience the modern empiricist means sense-perception, then he can no more claim a knowledge of reality than the sensationist or the sceptic. Sense-perception presents to us things, not as they really are in themselves, but as they appear to our senses. Hence to depend on sense-experience is not to know reality but sensuous phenomena. If, however, for the knowledge of realities like God and soul, the empiricist admits the possibility of any non-sensuous experience, he gives away his whole cause and ceases to employ the scientific method of 'reasoned observation and explanation' in his philosophy. This seems to be the case with Professor Alexander¹ who proposes to give us an empirical metaphysics by the scientific method of 'reflective description and analysis of experience' including religious emotion or experience, of which God is said to be the object. Here Professor Alexander makes a confusion between ordinary sense-experience and religious experience which is not sensory in character and forgets that the scientific method is strictly applicable only in the case of sense-experience.

Some other philosophers like Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz and Wolff adopt the method of rationalism as the proper method of philosophy. They are known as rationalists because they accept reason instead of experience as the source of philosophic knowledge. Both the empiricists and the rationalists are opposed to revelation or authority in the sphere of philosophical study. For both the aim of philosophy is the attainment of a system of universal and necessary principles which are logically inter-related among themselves. But while the empiricists believe that philosophy can attain its object by the help of sense-experience only, the rationalists deny this and hold that philosophy must be based on thought or reason alone. Sense-experience does not give us anything but sensations and feelings. It tells us nothing about the realities which underlie sensations. Further, sense-experiences cannot give us universal and necessary principles, for they are limited to the present and cannot tell us anything for certain about the past and the future. Hence if philosophy is to give us certain and universal knowledge, it must be based on such principles as are self-evident and absolutely certain. Thought or reason has in it some such self-evident and necessary principles. These are natural or native to reason, so that whoever has reason in him finds them to be self-

¹ See Alexander, *Space, Time and Deity*, Vol. II, pp. 341-54.

evident and certain. They are innate or *a priori* truths which lie implicit in the mind from our birth and prior to all experience. Philosophy must start from such self-evident and *a priori* truths, and pass from these to others which necessarily follow from them. In this way we can construct a system of philosophy which will be as certain as mathematics and in which there will be no room for doubt and dispute. The method of rationalism is also called *a priorism*, since it takes the principles of knowledge to be prior to or independent of experience. It is sometimes known also as intuitionism because it takes only that which is clearly and distinctly perceived, *i.e.* intuited, as necessarily true and certain.

The method of rationalism, as explained above, has obviously a touch of dogmatism in it. It is as much dogmatic to say that all knowledge comes from sense-experience as to say that it comes from reason alone. Whether our knowledge of the world, as we actually have it, can be explained by sense-experience or reason alone, or whether it owes its elements to both, are open questions which we have to discuss and decide in philosophy. To say, without due examination, that all knowledge comes from experience or reason alone is to prejudge the issue dogmatically. Supposing, reason gives us certain self-evident truths from which we can logically deduce others and thereby construct a system of knowledge, what guarantee is there that this thought-construction really agrees with the actual world in which we live and move? By mere reasoning we cannot prove the correspondence of our thoughts with things, of our rational ideas with empirical facts. As a matter of fact, however, there is hardly any agreement among men as to what truths are self-evident and what not. What is self-evident to one may not be so to another. Even the laws of thought like those of identity and contradiction are sometimes doubted and disputed by some philosophers. Spinoza's idea of 'substance' and Leibniz's theory of 'monads' are not now as self-evident as they were originally supposed to be. These have been not only doubted but rejected by subsequent thinkers. The rationalists take reason as the source and norm of knowledge. They think that reason gives us certain self-evident truths and also helps us to argue about and test the validity of our knowledge. But it seems to us that reason is not a way of directly *knowing* anything but a method of criticising or testing the knowledge we already have of things. It is experience alone that can give us a direct knowledge or acquaintance with facts or realities. On

the basis of such direct knowledge reason may try to know other things indirectly and justify or criticise both our direct and indirect knowledge of things. It is in sense-experience that we have a direct knowledge of physical things. If, therefore, there be anything, principle or reality, which cannot be sensed by us, we must admit some kind of supersensuous experience to explain our knowledge of it. Some rationalists virtually admit it when they say that we have an *intuition* of certain self-evident truths which are innate and native to reason.

The difficulties in which the methods of empiricism and rationalism were involved led Kant, the great German philosopher, to formulate another method which is known as criticism. This method takes knowledge as we actually have it and tries to find out by analysis the conditions which make it possible. The existence of Mathematics proves that our knowledge is on the one hand real and synthetic, and on the other, universal and necessary. It gives us new information about facts of the world and it is true for all minds and at all times. Under what conditions, then, is it possible for knowledge to be such? From experience we may get information about particular facts of the world. But from mere experience we cannot know that what is true of this or that fact is true of all other facts of the same kind. Experience cannot explain the characters of universality and necessity in knowledge. These can be explained only if there are certain elements in knowledge which are due to the nature and constitution of the mind which knows. What is involved in the very nature of our mind must be true of all minds. Space, time, causality, substantiality, etc., are such forms and ideas or categories which govern all knowledge because they are inherent in the mind of all rational beings like us. These are the *a priori* elements of human knowledge because they are not derived from experience but come from within the mind whenever it knows anything. But from the *a priori* forms and categories which have their origin in the nature of mind we know nothing about the particular facts of the world. To know space as a whole is not to know the existence of particular objects in space. Hence the synthetic character of knowledge, *i.e.* its reference to facts, cannot be explained by the *a priori* elements involved in knowledge. For real information about particular facts knowledge depends on experience or sense-intuition. Experience supplies the data or materials of knowledge in the form of sensations. These are interpreted by the mind through the application of the *a priori* forms and categories of space, time, substance, causality,

etc. It is in this way that we get our knowledge of the world as a system of things and events, existing in space and time, and being the same for all minds. But the world which we know cannot be regarded as real in the strict sense. It is rather a world which we construct out of the materials supplied by sensations and by application of the forms and categories supplied by mind. What we know is not reality as it is in itself, but as it appears through our senses and the categories of our mind or understanding. We cannot know anything except through sense-intuition and the categories. Therefore, we can never *know* reality or things-in-themselves, although the Reason in us may be under the necessity of *thinking* of them. If we had the capacity of a non-sensuous or intellectual intuition, then possibly we could know reality. Since, however, we have no such capacity, reality remains to us unknown and unknowable. Our knowledge is limited to the world of phenomena or appearances, although that world is objective in the sense that it is universal and necessary for all minds. Beyond phenomena there is no doubt the reality in which they are grounded. But neither science nor philosophy enables us to know what it is.

The Kantian method of criticism, it will be seen, combines those of empiricism and rationalism, and ends in a sort of agnosticism. It shows how our knowledge depends on sense-experience for its materials, and on reason (which Kant calls understanding) for the categories by which we interpret sensations and build up our conception of the world as a system of objects existing in space and time. But by following this method we are finally led to the view that the world of experience is phenomenal and not real. Reason, in the higher sense, constrains us to think of a transcendent world of reality beyond the world of phenomena. But for Reason this noumenal reality remains a mere idea or an ideal which we have no means of realising in experience. Reality thus remains to us for ever unknown and unknowable. Herein lies the strength as well as the weakness of Kant's method of criticism as the proper method of philosophy. It gives us a metaphysic of experience, in the sense that it reveals by logical analysis the ultimate conditions on which sense-experience and science depend. But it fails to lead to any metaphysics in the sense of knowledge of reality beyond phenomena. The reason why Kant's critical method ended in agnosticism is that he limited intuition to sense-experience. If we had none but sense-intuition, then all knowledge of reality would certainly remain impossible for us. But there is another kind of

intuition which is intellectual, because it is not mediated by sense and understanding. Kant believes that it is intellectual intuition which can give us a direct knowledge of reality, but he leaves it as a mere logical possibility. For Kant an intellectual intuition of reality is possible, but not actually attainable by us. But Kant here forgets that it is just on the basis of an intellectual intuition that he can possibly be so sure of reality as to declare all other things phenomenal. But for some experience of it, we could not know or even think of any reality as contrasted with phenomena. Professor H. J. Paton, a great Kantian scholar, seems to admit the actual presence of an intellectual intuition in Kant himself when he says, 'it does not appear that Kant *argued* from the existence of the given to the reality of things-in-themselves as its necessary cause. Rather he would seem to regard the thing-in-itself as *immediately present* to us in all appearances.'¹ If this be so, then we are to say that the critical method of philosophy should recognise the value and importance of non-sensuous or intellectual intuition to give us a knowledge of reality. If it does not, it is bound to end in agnosticism which holds that the world we know is phenomenal and that the real is unknown and unknowable. But this is rather an inconsistent position, since it allows such knowledge of reality as would enable us to judge the world as phenomenal and reality as non-phenomenal and unknowable.

But philosophy is not, like the sciences, the knowledge of the world of phenomena. Nor is it a mere critical study of experience to discover its pre-conditions, *i.e.* its universal forms and concepts. On the other hand, philosophy is the study of reality, the attempt to know reality as distinguished from phenomena. But for this the methods of philosophy so far considered are found to be inadequate. Hence philosophy must follow some other method than these to attain the knowledge of reality. It is just this idea of philosophy as the knowledge of reality that has led Hegel and his followers to employ the method of dialectic as the proper method of philosophy. Kant's critical method leads to agnosticism because he proceeds on the idea that the forms and categories of knowledge have their origin in our mind and are, therefore, subjective. They do not apply to the real, objective world lying beyond our mind or its experiences. It was Hegel's conviction that the forms and categories through which our

¹ Cf. Paton, *Kant's Metaphysic of Experience*, Vol. I, p. 70.

thought develops and seeks to know the nature of the experienced world are not confined to our mind but are realised in the nature and constitution of reality itself. There is a fixed order in the development of our thought through these categories. First we affirm some idea or conception of a thing. Then, finding its imperfection, we are led to affirm the opposite idea or conception of it. But the opposite idea, in its turn, is found to be as one-sided as the first. This leads us to affirm a higher and more comprehensive idea which includes and reconciles the first and its opposite. Thus we first think of a thing as a group of qualities without any substance. Secondly, we think of it as a substance without qualities. But both of these ideas being one-sided and imperfect we are finally led to the idea of the thing as a substance which is manifested through its qualities. It is this dialectical process that governs the development of thought from the lowest or most inadequate category to the highest or the most perfect. Thus we pass from the idea of the world as mere "Being" to the speculative conception of it as the "Absolute Idea" or self-conscious spirit. The same dialectic process governs the development of the objective world existing independently of our mind. The successive stages in the development of thought can be detected in the evolution of the world and in history. In his philosophy Hegel tries to show how the facts of Physics, History, Ethics and Religion illustrate the dialectical process. Hence for Hegel the forms and categories of knowledge are also the forms and modes of being or reality. Logic, as the science of the forms and categories of thought, will thus be identical with metaphysics as the study of reality. To know the ultimate principles of knowledge is also to know the ultimate principles governing the world.

The dialectical method of Hegel stands or falls with its fundamental assumption that thought and reality are identical. If our thought or consciousness were identical with reality and if the process of thought in us were creative, then perhaps we could say that the forms and categories of thought were also the forms and categories of reality. But so far as we know, human thought is not creative but representative of reality. For us to think of anything is not to bring it into existence, but to have an idea or concept of it. Thought, therefore, gives an *idea* of the object, but not any direct experience or acquaintance with it. In so far as this is the case, we cannot say with certainty that human thought is identical with reality or even that it directly reveals reality. The progress of the special sciences

also shows how arbitrary and untrustworthy Hegel's enumeration of the categories of reality is. There are some scientific categories which have no place in the list of categories given by Hegel. With the advance of the sciences other new concepts and categories may be found necessary for the interpretation of the experienced world. The Hegelian account of the categories would require modification whenever this actually happens. In fact, Hegel's account of the number and order of categories was mostly dependent on his knowledge of the sciences in his own time. Some of the greatest followers of Hegel are now convinced that the dialectical method is not so much a way of knowing reality as a way of arranging and examining the concepts through which our mind passes in its attempt to form a finally satisfactory conception of reality. Dialectic is a method of criticism and not of knowledge. It helps us to criticise the concepts or categories through which we want to rationalise the knowledge of reality obtained by some other means. It can, at its best, give us a consistent *conception* of reality, but not any direct knowledge of it. For a direct knowledge of reality we are to depend on some experience of it, which is different from ordinary sense-experience. While sense-experience is mediated through the forms and categories of the mind, the experience of reality is a pure intuition unmediated by sense and understanding. It is an 'intellectual intuition' or spiritual experience in which our thought or consciousness is divested of all forms and categories, and in its pure being manifests itself as identical with reality. When we have the experience of reality in this way we may try to justify it in philosophy by the method of criticism.

For the ancient Indian thinkers philosophy is not merely a matter of intellectual understanding of or theoretical speculation on truth and reality. It is a direct experience or realisation of absolute truth and reality (*darśana*). Hence the method of philosophy is, for most Indian thinkers, a combination of experience, reasoning and contemplation. All philosophy must be based on the experiences of the self within and the world outside us. These experiences may be either the normal experiences of ordinary men or the intuitive experiences of saints, seers and prophets. The Cārvāka, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Sāṅkhya systems of Indian philosophy take ordinary experience as the basis of philosophy. But some other systems like the Bauddha, the Jaina, the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta, maintain that in such matters as ultimate reality, liberation, etc., we cannot form any correct idea from ordinary

experience ; philosophy must depend for these on the intuitions of seers and saints who have a direct realisation of such things and whose experiences have been preserved for us in the scriptures. Hence it is sometimes held that a student of philosophy should begin with the study of the scriptures (*śravaṇa*) which, when carried on in the right spirit, initiates him into the truths of philosophy. It is here that testimony or authority may be said to have a place in philosophy. But from this we should not think that authority is the sole ground of philosophy and accept the method of authoritarianism in philosophy. To do so is to have faith, but no philosophy. A faith in the scriptures may have its own value, but it does not rise to the level of reasoned knowledge without which there can be no philosophy. Hence the second step in philosophical study is reasoning or criticism of experience (*manana*). Here the student of philosophy is advised to examine thoroughly all experiences including the teachings of the scriptures and see for himself if there are satisfactory reasons for accepting them as true and valid. If after due examination of the scriptural teachings in the light of his own experiences and by the application of logical canons, he finds them rational, then and only then he should accept them as true. Otherwise he is under no obligation to accept them, but may even reject them. This rationalistic spirit of free criticism is conspicuous in the Cārvāka, Bauddha, Jaina, Nyāya and Sāṅkhya systems. The Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta are indeed based on the authority of the Vedas. Still, they make as much use of the method of logical criticism as any other system of Indian or Western philosophy, and support their theories by such strong and cogent arguments as to make them independent of the authority of the scriptures. A rational and critical study of all experiences is thus necessary for the attainment of philosophical knowledge. But the realisation of the truths of philosophy does not come by way of reasoning alone. By means of reasoning and criticism we can detect the errors in our experiences, and in the ideas and concepts based on them. We can also justify and defend certain truths by adducing good reasons in support of it. But by mere reasoning we can neither know the truth nor realise it. For the realisation of philosophical truths all Indian thinkers, excepting the Cārvākas, recommend moral purification, contemplation (*nididhyāsana*) and concentration (*yoga*) as the necessary means. To them, these constitute the third and the most important part of the method of

philosophy. God, self, immortality and freedom are some of the truths of philosophy. All proofs that have so far been given by philosophers in support of these truths leave us as unconvinced as ever. What is necessary to remove finally our doubts about them is a direct experience or clear realisation of these truths. And this must be attained, if at all, by purification of the mind, and constant contemplation of and deep concentration on them. These help us, as nothing else does, to realise the self or God as the free, unborn and undying spirit which is above all the laws of space, time and causality.

We may end this essay by explaining our idea of philosophy and the proper philosophical method. Philosophy, by which we mean metaphysics, is an intellectual attempt to rationalise our experiences of supersensuous reality. Science gives us a systematic knowledge of the physical world by rationalising our experiences of it. We get these experiences through our senses and rationalise them by relating one to the others under the laws of space, time, causality, etc. Science may thus be said to be the rationalisation of sense-experiences. But sense-experience does not give us anything as it is in itself, but as it appears in relation to our sense-organs. The objects of sense-experience are phenomenal and not real, since they are relative to our sense and understanding and do not stand for the reality of things in themselves. It follows from this that we cannot have any sense-experience of reality, for whatever comes through our senses is bound to be modified by the nature of our sensibility and understanding. If we are to know reality at all, it must be through some sort of supersensuous experience which is not mediated by sense and understanding. It is, in Kant's words, an 'intellectual intuition' that can give us an insight into reality. Philosophy does not help us to *get* this experience or intuition. All that it can do is to *rationalise* the experience or experiences when we have them. Philosophy is thus based on the supersensuous experiences of reality and it consists in the intellectual attempt to rationalise those experiences. If we had none but sense-experiences, science should have satisfied us and the need of a philosophy would not have been felt by us. It is because we have some supersensuous experiences of reality that we make the attempt to understand them and thereby rise to a knowledge of reality beyond phenomena. Philosophy is the attempt to know reality in the sense that it tries to understand or rationalise our experiences of supersensuous reality. Hence we

may say that philosophy is based on the supersensuous experience of reality, which has been variously described as intuitive, spiritual, religious or mystical experience. But while philosophy is *based on* this experience, it *consists* properly in the attempt to rationalise the experience or experiences of supersensuous reality. Philosophy is not merely the intuitive experience of reality. If it were so, it would be indistinguishable from mysticism. But philosophy is not mysticism, although it may have its basis in the mystical experience. It is an intellectual attempt to understand and rationalise the mystical experiences of reality by relating them to the world of ordinary experience and interpreting it in their light. Philosophy is thus the rationalisation of our experiences of supersensuous reality or the intellectual effort to understand the world in the light of those experiences. But to rationalise our experiences of the supersensuous is not to *prove* them by help of sense-experience or scientific knowledge. What is supersensuous cannot be perceived through the senses. Science also cannot prove the reality of the supersensuous, since it is, by its very nature, limited to sense-experience. What is not given in or verifiable by sense-experience, either directly or indirectly, does not come within the purview of science. Hence to rationalise our experiences of supersensuous reality we do not get much help from sense-experience and scientific knowledge. To rationalise them is to show how an interpretation of the world, as based on these experiences, makes our life and all its experiences more intelligible and harmonious than any knowledge given by the senses or the sciences. Philosophy is completely unified knowledge in the sense that it explains the totality of our life and its experiences better than any other knowledge. To show that this is so, is to rationalise the intuitive or supersensuous experiences of reality on which philosophy as metaphysics is based.

It follows from what we have said above that the method of philosophy must be critical in its character. To justify the philosophical view of the world we have to examine critically the common-sense and scientific views of it and detect their errors and inconsistencies. We have to examine also all our ordinary concepts and theories and see if they stand the test of a rigorous logical criticism. With this end in view we shall analyse and examine our various experiences and try to discover their ultimate implications. If after a critical examination of all the ordinary and the scientific concepts

and theories we find that they do not accord with the totality of our experiences and their implications, as much as the philosophical view does, then we are justified in accepting it as the most rational interpretation of the world. But the task of the philosopher does not end with the criticism of ordinary and scientific knowledge to show their inadequacy. While this may convince him of the insufficiency and untruth of the knowledge given by common sense and science, it will leave him rather unconvinced of the truths of philosophy. He may even *feel* sure of these truths, but he cannot *know* them to be certain unless he has a direct experience or realisation of them. Thus Bradley confesses that such sources of our knowledge of the absolute as mere feeling or immediate presentation, and our moral and aesthetic experiences 'supply not an experience but an abstract idea of the absolute, and that if we can *realise* at all the general features of the absolute and see that somehow they come together in a way known vaguely and in the abstract, our result is *certain*.'¹ A certain knowledge of absolute reality and of the ultimate truths of philosophy requires as a realisation of them in direct experience. And this must be attained, if at all, through continued meditation and contemplation of them. The truths of philosophy cannot be verified in sense-experience; nor can we prove them scientifically. The only way in which they can be known by us is calm and constant contemplation of the self, in which the distractions of sense and the fluctuations of thought die out, and pure consciousness reveals itself as pure being or absolute reality which is above space, time and causality, and, therefore, free, immortal and all-pervading. As Professor K. C. Bhattacharyya has truly said: 'Metaphysics, or more generally, philosophy, is not only not actual knowledge, but is not even literal thought; and yet its contents are contemplated as true in the faith that it is only by such contemplation that absolute truth can be known.'² Thus philosophy as metaphysics is based on some original but indefinite experiences of the supersensuous reality and is completed by criticism and contemplation, through which we rationalise and realise its truths. Criticism and contemplation are, therefore, the characteristic methods of philosophy, or more correctly speaking, the two constitute the proper philosophical method.

¹ See F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, pp. 140-42 (italics mine).

² See *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 66.

MILITARY EDUCATION

G. M. JADHAV

III

“THE Aim of the Army is, with co-operation with the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force, to break down the resistance of the enemy's armed forces in furtherance of the approved plan of campaign. The achievement of this result with the minimum expenditure of time, men, material and money is the object to be aimed at in the organization of the Army.”

I quote these lines from Field Service Regulations, Volume 1, Chapter 1, Section 1, published in 1930.

It is no doubt a very wise thing “to break down the resistance of the enemy's armed forces in furtherance of the approved plan of campaign.” But why give the enemy a number of years in which to prepare a strong army, navy and air force while the British War Office and the British statesman go to sleep, figuratively speaking, and blissfully forget that there is such a thing as national defence and that it is a very important subject. Suppose for a moment that even from 1930 those responsible for the defence of Britain had taken care to see what was happening in Germany and had taken adequate steps to be prepared for war. I have been warning friends in Britain and India since 1930 that war would again break out in 1939 or 1940. And I say even today, without being a prophet in any way, that the present war is already the beginning of another war in 1960 or 1965. The exact date of course depends upon the amount of stupidity of which the statesmen will be capable. In case there is another Versailles, then we are sure and certain of another war. Every day we read in the papers that the Democracies wish to destroy the Dictators. It is a mercy that we no longer hear about this war as the war to end war. That slogan did its work last time, and this time the cry is, “Down with the Dictators.” What the Germans are trying to do now, that the British did centuries ago. The British have their possessions in every part of the world that is worth possessing. By what means did they create their empire? Think

about India, South Africa, Canada, Australia, etc. What about the natives of these countries. What about the Maoris of New Zealand ?

DACOITEE in excelsis

I mention here "Dacoitee in Excelsis" printed and published by J. R. Taylor. Dacoitee in Excelsis or The Spoliation of Oude by the East India Company. Faithfully recounted. With notes and documentary illustrations. I read the book as long ago as 1910 when I was at the Manchester Grammar School. I found the book in the Reference Library. I was only fourteen years old when I read that book. But I began to understand that in history books we read nothing but propaganda and I was pleased to see that there were a few Englishmen who had the courage to write books like "Dacoitee in Excelsis."

The Story of Satara, by Major Basu is another book we should remember.

We read about the tyranny of the Germans. And what freedom is there under British rule ? Let me give only one example. For the Library of the Bihar Military School I bought books worth Rs. 2,000. I bought Military books, Naval books, Air Force books and also books on Religion, Science, Nature-study, Architecture, etc. In 1940 I received a letter from Bihar Government asking me to explain why I had bought the following 18 books:—

1. Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries
2. Being and Doing
3. Great Souls at Prayer
4. Daily Strength for Daily Needs
5. Thoughts on Personal Religion
6. Character and Conduct
7. The Greatest Thing in the World
8. Helps to Worship
9. Orissan Architecture
10. Butterfly Lore
11. Migration of Butterflies
12. Butterflies of India, Volume 1
13. Butterflies of India, Volume 2

14. Congress Presidential Addresses, Volume 1
15. Congress Presidential Addresses, Volume 2
16. The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, by Shaw
17. Butterfly Hunting
18. Identification of Butterflies

I gave an explanation why I had bought these books. I was told that the Adviser was angry when he read my answer. I was angry when I received the letter asking for an explanation. A first class war is going on and the Adviser finds time to waste his time as well as mine, by asking me why I had bought the 18 books mentioned above. It takes one's breath away that under the present rule we have to explain why we buy certain books.

Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries.—How can I teach military history of India without referring to this subject? I wish to teach real military history and not an uplifting story or a fairy tale. I am bound to talk about the ruin of Indian trade and industries. I am bound to say a great deal also about the ruin of Indian shipping. I look upon military history as a subject of great interest. I would teach military history in an impartial spirit free from all bias. I would point out the wrong done by Indians to India and also the wrong done by the British to India.

Butterflies.—I wonder if these I.C.S. Advisers were ever young boys or they came straight from heaven all ready-made as I.C.S. gods. Did they ever run after butterflies, did they watch the glory and splendour of blazing colours? No. Poor devils. They just became I.C.S. tin gods. What a calamity!

Religion.—This is a personal matter. I would like to point out to the cadets of the Military School the high ethics of the Christian religion and the very low practice of it in statesmanship and politics. I would advise the cadets to read books on all religions. I had given a copy of the *Koran* and the *Gita*.

And what has religion to do with military history? I will tell you. Do not look upon war as merely an art or a science, war has much to do with social life, in fact it is a part and parcel of social life. This is a fact which we do not seem to understand or do not wish to understand. In talking about war and military history, I would like to say many things about the social life of the people, their manners, customs, etc.

Orissan Architecture.—Bihar is not far from Orissa. In my lectures on military history I would have had much to say about Orissa. The architecture of a people is a good indication of the civilisation and social life of that people. This is an obvious fact. As our dear friend Macaulay would say, every school boy knows this fact. But how can we expect a highly paid I.C.S. Adviser to know this fact?

Guide to Socialism, by Shaw.—I hope some friend will inform Mr. Bernard Shaw that an Adviser, I suppose an Englishman, objected to the *Guide to Socialism*. Is it possible to teach military history without saying something about the slums of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, etc.? Why slums and why poverty? Here we are again back to our old friend social life and social conditions. The Industrial Revolution made a few men rich and millions had to live in slums. No doubt the rich lived in luxury and the poor in abject poverty. Perhaps this may be one reason why *Guide to Socialism* was found unsuitable for the cadets of the Bihar Military School. There is a sense of humour in this and G. B. S. will be delighted to know the fact that his *Guide to Socialism* is considered a dangerous book for military students in India.

Congress Presidential Addresses.—The ways of Providence are said to be inscrutable. The ways of the I.C.S. Adviser or the I.C.S. in general are also just as inscrutable. Otherwise how are we to explain that the *Congress Presidential Addresses*, Volumes 1 and 2, should be considered unsuitable for military students? I cannot give any suitable answer. I doubt if anyone else can. And yet in 1940 we have the wonderful experience of being told that the *Congress Presidential Addresses* are not suitable books for the Bihar Military School Library. I did my best to explain that Indian military students should know something about the work and thought of great Indian men and women who delivered the *Congress Presidential Addresses* year after year for so many years. An I.C.S. officer was responsible for starting the Congress. But that was years ago. And by a strange irony of fate we find that another I.C.S. officer in 1940 objected to the *Congress Presidential Addresses*. I suppose there would be no objection to *Secrets of the British Court* or some such books giving information about the sex-life of English kings and queens.

B.A. MILITARY EDUCATION

As a result of the present war India will require many teachers of military education. It must be obvious to all that the signing of a treaty like that of Versailles in 1919 does not mean the end of war. Yes, the soldiers, sailors and airmen may not fight after a treaty is signed. But we know definitely that a treaty is merely a temporary pause before the next war begins.

For the B.A. Military Education degree I would suggest the following course:—

Section I—Compulsory Subjects

1. Indian Military History
2. British Military History
3. Military Geography
4. Topography
5. Outline of Modern History
6. Indian and International Affairs
7. Car Maintenance
8. Aviation

One Optional Subject

9. Modern Political History
10. Modern Economic History
11. Automobile Engineering
12. Science of Aviation
13. Electricity and Wireless
14. French, German, Russian, Japanese (one language)
15. Chemistry, Botany, Zoology (one science subject)

Section II—Compulsory Subjects

1. Military Science, Tactics, Strategy
2. Weapon Training
3. Map Reading
4. Military Organisation and Administration
5. Military Law
6. Defence of India
7. Military Drill

8. Physical Training
9. Rifle Shooting
10. Machine Gun Practice

Students who have passed their Inter. Arts or Inter. Sc. Examination should be allowed to take up this two-year course for B.A. Military Education. India will need hundreds of students for this course. Every Indian University should make arrangements for this course.

When Indians are able to defend India it will be a good thing for Britain as well as India.

Those who take up the two-year course mentioned above should always remain students of military subjects. In military science changes are taking place rapidly. In India there must be hundreds of Indians who study military science and keep in touch with the latest developments and progress.

MILITARY EDUCATION SOCIETY OF INDIA

Will not the Inter-University Board think of organising a Military Education Society of India? The aims and objects of the Society should be:

1. To encourage the study of military science.
2. To publish a monthly or quarterly journal.
3. To publish a good and reliable Military History of India.

All Indian Universities can co-operate in this work.

MILITARY HISTORY

“ But in whatever way we may study military history, whether we try to discover the great fundamental principles of all warfare, or try—like the scientist with his microscope—to trace the minutest details of events, we must always comply with the dictates of stringent impartial and comprehensive investigation, if we wish to arrive at useful results. All superficial study of military history is not only to no purpose, but is downright harmful, because it far too easily leads to wrong conclusions, based on mistaken knowledge of the subject. It would be quite deceptive also, should we wish to judge of the expediency or error of an action by its success or failure alone; for we as men can, of course, only strive for success by trying to act

suitably, but success itself is subordinate to superior laws which are imponderable and hidden from us." (On War of Today, by Bernhardi, p. 50.)

"The study of military history, however, in a manner that alone will promise real success meets with extraordinary difficulties. If the events are rather ancient, it is often impossible to trace important details explaining matters; if the events are of recent date, the details cannot be examined, chiefly for political or personal reasons, and truth is hidden in the archives and the bosom of the actors." (*Ibid.*, p. 50.)

I read On War of Today, by Bernhardi in 1912. I have tried to think about military history in the spirit described by Bernhardi; and I would teach military history in that spirit. If I am not allowed to teach military history in the way mentioned by Bernhardi, then I would not like to teach the subject. As far as I am concerned, personal or political reason will never come in the way. Freedom of teaching and freedom of learning...that should be our guiding principle, or motto.

MILITARY EDUCATION PAMPHLETS

I hope the Calcutta University will be able to publish the following Military Education Pamphlets:—

1. Experience of War and Speculation (On War of Today, by Bernhardi).
2. War, Strategy, Lessons from the Past for the Present (Science of War, by Henderson, Longmans, Green & Co.).
3. On War, by Clausewitz, Chapter 1 (Kegan Paul).
4. British Strategy, by Maurice, Chapter 1 (Constable & Co.).

Permission should be obtained from the publishers. These pamphlets and many more similar pamphlets will be useful for spreading military education in India.

BRITISH STRATEGY

British Strategy by General Maurice (Constable & Co., 10 s.). I hope Constable & Co., will publish a cheap edition of British

strategy and sell it at 5 s. per copy. This will be one way of spreading military knowledge. I give the Contents of British Strategy :

Chapter

1. The Nature of War
2. Principles of War
3. Strategy
4. The Object in War
5. The Principle of Security
6. The Principle of Economy of Force
7. The Principle of Co-operation
8. The Principle of the Offensive
9. The Principle of Mobility
10. The Principle of Surprise
11. The Principle of Concentration
12. Conclusion

I hope this book will become a text-book for our B.A. and M.A. students and also for the B.A. Military Education course. There are 243 pages in the book and I cannot give even a summary of it in a few lines. Those who are interested in military subjects and in Indian defence will do well to study carefully British Strategy, by General Maurice. I shall quote a few paragraphs from the book. But I do hope Indians will buy and study this useful book.

“War in its highest development is, in fact, as we have good reason to know, a tremendous social cataclysm, affecting every part of the national life. It is primarily because war is a social rather than a purely military development that its nature is progressively changing. Within comparatively recent times we as a nation have been concerned actively in two great world conflicts, the Napoleonic War and the Great War.” (British Strategy, page 4).

British Strategy was first published in 1929 and reprinted in 1935. So to the list of the two wars mentioned by General Maurice he will add the third war which began in 1939 September. Now-a-days very few people talk about the 1914-18 war as the Great War. There is nothing very original in that name Great War. It was used centuries ago for other Great Wars.....great at the time they were fought..... but very small and insignificant as years pass by.

The French Revolution, the 1914-18 War and now the 1939 War are brought about by social and political changes. The prime cause of the next war will be also social and political.

The population of India must be 400,000,000. What social and political freedom is there in India? Have the British given real political freedom to India? Are Indians in charge of the defence of India? Is it not something of a mockery to talk about democracy for nations in Europe and to keep 400,000,000 Indians in political bondage? The Indian soldiers and officers have fought bravely in the present war as they did in the last war. But how does that help India?

We have now a Defence Advisory Committee with ten non-official members. But how does that help Indian defence by Indians? When will the British soldiers and statesmen realise the fact that in war we have to deal not only with arts and sciences but also with social life?

"War should not be included in the domain of arts and sciences, but rather in the sphere of social life. It is a conflict of vast interests, which is solved in blood, and only in that respect does it differ from other contests." (On War, by Clausewitz, Book II, Chap. iii).

Now the reader should again see the quotation from Field Service Regulations, Volume 1, which I have given at the beginning of this article. It is useful to know what the Army should do in co-operation with the Navy and the Air Force when once war is declared. But why should not the people of one country try and know something about the social life of other countries. A war does not come from heaven all ready-made and well prepared.

NEW WORLD ORDER

Mr. H. G. Wells has made a sensible suggestion in his book. But Conservative Lords and Ladies do not like Mr. H. G. Wells. The United States of the World, Air Force Union of the World..... these are not idle dreams.

Remember how many kings and chiefs there were in Britain when Julius Cæsar invaded that island. The British tribes and kings disappeared in course of time. In France and Germany also there were so many different tribes and princes. France became one united

nation. So did Germany, Italy, etc. Today in the age of radio, television and airplanes it should not be difficult for the different nations to call a Conference and come to a sensible understanding about the way in which they should co-operate for the progress of humanity.

Think of the money that has been wasted since the present war began and think also about the men, money and material that will be wasted before the war ends. And what will be achieved after all by this waste of men, money and material? How will India benefit? We have a right to ask this question because India has given men, money and material. What for? To remain a slave country under the benevolent rule of Britain and the British I. C. S.? I gave an example of the I. C. S. mentality when I mentioned the 18 books which were found unsuitable by an Adviser. Money for the 18 books was deducted from my salary for March, 1941. I do not mind the loss of about Rs. 86-14-0 for the books. The books I handed over to Bihar Government in March, 1941. But I think the spirit of the I. C. S. Adviser is certainly not in tune with the Time Spirit. And the Time Spirit has a very bad habit of doing unexpected things.

BIHAR MILITARY SCHOOL

I have already mentioned that I prepared the plan of the Bihar Military School which was to be opened in November, 1939. The Congress Ministers resigned and the I. C. S. Government have postponed the opening of the School. This means the School is not to be opened. The Time Spirit must be having a hearty laugh somewhere in time and space. What a comedy we have in India. The Commander-in-Chief has told us about the bravery of the Indian soldiers and officers. And yet Indians are not to have military education.

I quote what General Wavell said in his first public utterance in India. "I think," he said, "it is the obvious duty, and particularly in a situation like this where a great threat to the country is possible, that the elected representatives of the Indian people should take as close an interest in the circumstances of the war and the defence problems of their country as is possible."

I hope Sir Archibald Wavell will be informed that the Bihar Legislative Assembly passed the following resolution on April 12, 1938:

“That this Assembly recommends to Government to take necessary steps to organise a National Militia for this province on the lines of the I. T. F. and to maintain duly trained volunteer corps as a reserve force ready for mobilisation at any time of emergency and also to make adequate provision for military training in schools and colleges and to establish a separate Military School.”

The population of Bihar must be about 40,000,000. The elected representatives of Bihar had passed the resolution mentioned above. The plan of the Bihar Military School was ready, the cadets were selected and yet the I.C.S. Government of Bihar and the Central Government sabotaged the whole plan. It is possible that General Wavell does not know these facts. I hope some one will inform him.

The representatives of the Indian people are very keen on national defence and military, naval and air force training for Indians. But the British do not help our work.

The Bombay Legislative Council passed the following resolution on October 15, 1938:

“This Council recommends to Government to provide facilities for the introduction of compulsory Military Training in the University Training Corps for two years at least in the case of every College student before he takes his degree.”

What help have Government given? The representatives of the people do take interest in national defence. But what help do we get from Government? No money is one excuse. No money is not the real reason. All of us know this and yet we can do nothing.

The Madras Legislative Assembly passed the following resolution on the 7th December, 1938:

“This Assembly recommends to the Government that it is necessary and desirable that immediate steps be taken to provide facilities for military training to all college students and other civilian population desirous of undergoing such training.”

I suppose General Wavell has an Intelligence Department under his control. I presume that this Department has intelligence with capital I or even with a small i. They must have records of the resolutions I have mentioned above and also copies of the debates in connection with the resolutions. Here I come back to the fact that war has much to do with social life. Bihar, Bombay, Madras are big provinces. The representatives of these provinces passed resolutions which are given above. They have suggested that military education

should be given to college students and to civilians who desire to have such training. And what has been the net result since the resolutions were passed in 1938? I have already said that the Bihar Military School plan and the military education plans in Bihar have been sabotaged. This is what India gets in return for the bravery of her soldiers and their self sacrifice in war for the British ruling classes.

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

In the Congress Presidential Addresses volumes 1 and 2 there are several references to military and naval training for Indians. I hope the Intelligence Department will find out these volumes and see what Indians have had to say about military training for national defence by Indians. I presume the British have enough intelligence to understand that the primary duty of every Indian is to defend his country. The primary duty of every Britisher is to defend Britain. And yet if you are interested, please read "Memoirs of an unconventional Soldier" by General Fuller to see how the British War Office neglected this primary duty. Please read how the members of the Army Council are experts in wasting time. You should read what General Fuller has written about all this in his own inimitable style. For a general and fuller understanding of this matter I recommend all books by General Fuller to Indian readers.

MILITARY SCHOOLS

I would respectfully suggest to General Wavell that he should use all his influence with the Viceroy and take up seriously the question of starting a Military School in every province. The plan of the Bihar Military School can be used in every province with certain changes and modifications for local conditions. Such Military Schools will train many Indians and they will create an interest in national defence. The common people will begin to take interest in national defence and the army will belong to the nation and not be a separate class apart from the nation as a whole.

In the High Schools and Colleges there should be cadet corps. In this way also it is possible to make military education popular in the real sense of the word.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

In 1940 I published a pamphlet called *The Defence of India*. I sent copies to the schools and colleges in Bihar. I did my duty as Director of Military and Physical Education, Bihar, and as an Indian. I was surprised and angry when I received a letter from Bihar Government ordering me to withdraw my pamphlet from the schools and colleges of Bihar. I gave my reasons for not withdrawing the pamphlet, *The Defence of India*, from the schools and colleges of Bihar. Patriotism is a virtue in Britain. How does patriotism become a crime in India? We read in the papers that Britain is fighting for democracy and freedom of thought and freedom of speech. For the sake of my pamphlet, *The Defence of India*, I have to suffer. This I knew when I published the pamphlet in June, 1940, at Patna. The Precepts to Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen given in my pamphlet I had noted down as long ago as 1914 at Rouen near the Tower of Joan of Arc. The Time Spirit will prove who is right and who is wrong.

Here I give the main points from the Precepts :

1. Every Indian is a born defender of India. The Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen should consider loyalty to India their essential duty.
2. The Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen should be strict in observing propriety.
3. The Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen should esteem valour.
4. The Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen should highly value faithfulness and righteousness.
5. The Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen should make simplicity their aim.
6. For the welfare and defence of India soldiers, sailors and airmen should be selected from every province in a definite proportion so that all Indians become responsible for the defence of India.
7. "Let our object be our country, our whole country and nothing but our country."
8. "National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy and uprightness, as national decay is of individual idleness, selfishness and vice."

Indians will have to accept some definite Precepts for the Indian army, navy and air force.

In the same way Indians will have to prepare books on the Defence of India. Let us hope that the British will encourage this work because it is as much in their interest as it is in the interest of India. All this should have been done in 1900, or 1920 or at least in 1930.

Today Britain is spending millions of pounds per day on war. India has also to pay a big amount. After this war there will be another war. And if the British are wise they will make adequate preparations and they will also let Indians learn the art and science of war and all the implications of social aspects and social changes which are necessary for creating a national army, navy and air force in India.

SOCIAL METABOLISM

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

MUNICIPALIZATION AS AN AGENT IN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

THE magnitude of human agglomeration is the *differentium* between the settlements of diverse categories. It is a purely numerical or quantitative distinction. Nothing but the number of settlers or inhabitants distinguishes a metropolis from a city, a city from a town, and a town from a village, and so on. Differential urbanism or ruralism is in this count but a mere question of difference in the number of heads.

This is the exact opposite of Spengler's position. "It goes without saying," says he, "that what distinguishes a town from a village is not size but the presence of a soul."¹ To me it is not only the town, but the village also, that has a soul. A soulless settlement is inconceivable, if a soul has to be admitted in any individual or collectivity.

The complex of interhuman relations that constitutes a town or village of this or that category may be examined from other viewpoints as well. Let us take the internal structure of these "locality patterns" and observe how it differs from category to category. Supposing we analyze the data from India by way of illustration we shall find that the difference between the diverse categories of settlements is a difference only of degrees in certain instances but is a difference of kind in others. It is to be observed that in India, as at present situated, there is a very large number of settlements,—villages or towns,—which do not possess the pattern of municipal jurisdiction. These non-municipal agglomerations are to be taken, from the standpoint of interhuman relations, as somewhat radically different from the municipal ones. In regard to the municipal agglomerations, however, differential urbanism has to be analyzed not as a qualitative but as a quantitative phenomenon.

The pre-municipalized life of men and women may generally be taken to be the life of families leading their isolated existence. Virtually

¹ *The Decline of the West*, Vol. II (London, 1928), p. 91.

they are, as a rule, independent of one another. Organized institutions are few and far between. In certain areas the pattern of so-called "village communities" may happen to be functioning. For occasional purposes, *e.g.*, for social festivities, religious ceremonies, seasonal sports, or harvesting and marketing, etc., friendly associations of a temporary character may come into being through the efforts of the creative individuals. But altogether the social polity of the villages is chiefly individualistic, traditional, based on age-long customs and conventional moralities. The first break in the *mores* and the traditions of the rural complex comes in the wake of municipal legislation. It is with this legislation that a new social metabolism sets in. Municipalization may, therefore, be appraised as an agent in the transformation of societies. It is tantamount to rural reconstruction. The villages begin to be reconstructed as a matter of course as soon as the municipalities are brought into existence. Societal metabolism or transformation through municipal legislation goes back in India to 1884.

Municipalization automatically involves a remaking of the *zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen* (interhuman relations). And societal transformation is engendered by it. Nay, the personality of the individuals undergoes a radical metabolism under its influence. Men and women used to the discipline, organization, privileges and responsibilities of municipal legislation cannot be treated as identical in *psyche* and behaviour with those who are outside this *milieu*. It is not necessary to moralize over or eulogize the consequences of municipal agglomerations. But the transformation (partial if not total) of the mentality and social attitudes of the municipalized persons is an objective phenomenon such as must not be ignored in any study of social metabolism.

DIFFERENTIAL MUNICIPALISM: INDO-RUSSIAN

For countries like India the distinction between municipalized and non-municipalized populations is a real one from the standpoint of numbers. The reason may not be obvious to scholars working on the social statistics of highly developed countries. As a rule, sociologists are likely to take municipalization and urbanization as synonyms or convertible terms. But in India municipalization is not implied as a matter of course in urbanization. The lag between urbanization

and municipalization, so far as India is concerned, can be seen in the following table for 1937²:—

1. Total Population	352,837,778 (say, 353 millions)
2. Urban Population (living in settlements with 2,000 and above)	99,654,091 (say 100 millions)
3. Municipalized Populations	22,818,015 (say 23 millions)
4. Proportion of 2 to 1	35.0 per cent.
5. Proportion of 3 to 2	22.8 per cent.
6. Proportion of 3 to 1	6.4 per cent.

We understand that nearly 100 millions are town-dwellers while not more than 23 millions are municipalized. From the standpoint of interhuman relations we notice that 35 per cent. of the total population is used to the urban morphology in so far as the settlement with 2,000 and more inhabitants is to be described as a town. But not more than 22.8 per cent of these urbanized men and women happens to be used to the municipal morphology. And in the background of the total Indian population the municipalized pattern works out at 6.4 per cent. only.

The relations between the urbanized units and the municipalized units can be seen as follows for 1937:—

Categories	Number	Total Population
1. Towns (with 2,000 and more inhabitants)	22,171	99,654,091
2. Municipalities	812	22,818,015

The figures indicate that there are 812 municipalities while the number of urban complexes is 22,171. This yields 3.6 as the percentage. Municipalization has then hardly touched even the fringes of urban formations.

The dynamics of municipalization can be exhibited for what it is worth in the following scheme:—

Items	1917-18	1926-27	1935-36
1. Number of Municipalities	725	771	813
2. Municipalized Population	17,353,273	19,062,813	22,818,016
3. Committee Members of Municipalities	9,875	12,586	13,180

² *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-28 to 1935-1937* (Delhi, 1939), p. 76.

Municipal progress in 19 years from 1917-18 to 1935-36 yields the following equation :—

1. In the number of municipalities, India (1935-36) 813=1·1, India (1917-18) 725.
2. In municipalized population, India (1935-36) 22·8 millions =1·3, India (1917-18) 17·3 millions.
3. In committee members, India (1935-36) 13,180=1·3, India (1917-18) 9,875.

The progress is statistically palpable but by all means very low. Both absolutely as well as relatively, then, municipalism as a social pattern in India is almost insignificant. The index of municipalism being what it is, it is always expedient for India to take interest in the world's differential municipalism in order to watch and get ready for the "next higher" flights.

The process involved in the transformation of social patterns on a large scale is visible in the social metabolism of Soviet Russia as manifest in the remaking of rural-urban relations within a short period of time. The rural regions got acculturated to the industrial workingmen in large numbers. The reconstruction of villages, because of this acculturation to the industrial proletariat, was consummated in much higher proportions than that of towns and cities.

The picture of Russian rural reconstruction in the perspective of urban transformations from 1929 to 1931 on account of the influx of industrial workers is exhibited below³ :—

Regions	1929	1931	Index (1929=100)
1. Ural-Kuzbas (Urals, Bashkira, Kazakstan, Western Siberia)	1,452,800	2,639,500	181·7
2. Central Asia (Turk- menistan, Tadjikistan Uzbekistan)	286,800	534,300	186·3
3. Eastern Regions (Far Eastern, Eastern-Siberia, Yakutia)	360,700	593,100	164·4

³ *Summary of the Fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan* (Moscow, 1933), pp. 187-88. For comparative labour statistics with special reference to India see B. K. Sarkar: *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936), pp. 14-19.

Regions	1929	1931	Index (1929=100)
4. Old Industrial Regions (Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky Territory, Ivanavo Region)	4,104,800	5,897,500	143.7
5. Entire Russia	12,167,900	18,750,500	154.1

The above table indicates that the rural reconstruction consummated in the first three regions involved a much larger influx of workmen into the village areas than the urban transformation in the fourth region. In each of the three rural regions the percentage of increase in industrial population was higher than that in the old industrial regions. The industrialization of the countryside may be taken to have been consummated on a substantial scale. The total industrial workers of U.S.S.R. increased from 12,167,900 in 1929 to 18,750,500 in 1931, the rate of increase being 54.1 per cent. In 1931 India with population more than double that of Russia had hardly 5,000,000 industrial workers in organised business.

This industrialization and urbanization of the villages in Soviet Russia is to be taken as an item of the municipal complex. The index of municipalism in Russia is not yet very high by the "adult" Eur-American standard. So far as differential municipalism is concerned, India should, therefore, exchange notes with Soviet Russia and not with the countries of "adult" urbanism and super-municipalism.

THE SOCIAL METABOLISM OF SOVIET RUSSIA

In the economic, political and sociological discussions on Soviet Russia the general tendency among scholars is to ascertain and examine the communistic or socialistic achievements of the Bolshevik regime. How far the communism or socialism as consummated by this regime differs from or agrees with the "scientific socialism" expounded by Marx-Engels as well as the Marxism that has been in evolution since 1848 independently of Marx is the topic that chiefly concerns the theorist. Another topic of interest is the question as to whether and the extent to which capitalism, profit-seeking, the quest of the surplus value, private property, individual savings and such other items of the bourgeois economy have been abolished or modified by Leninism I (1918-1921), and the New Economic Policy, i.e., Leninism II (1922-24), which is being managed by Stalin through

the Gosplans (1928-1942). Equally important to general economists, political philosophers, and sociologists is the technique of public finance, price-control, currency-management, etc., by which it has been possible to abolish or restrict private savings, individual capitalism, personal profits and so forth, in so far as these abolitions or restrictions are facts.

There are some other topics to which the attention of scholars ought equally to be drawn. In the first place, the problem is to assess and appraise the total amount of transformations of all types achieved since 1918 by the Soviet regime in the villages and towns of Russia. Secondly, the question may be asked as to whether the processes and forms of interhuman relations involved in these Sovietic transformations are substantially different from the transformations that have been going on in the non-Sovietic regions of the world. These two items may be regarded as constituting some of the most basic considerations in the sociology of social metabolism.

Let us take up the second question, first, namely, that about the nature, quality or variety of the processes and forms underlying the transformations. We are convinced that it is almost impossible to find anything new in Soviet Russia (excepting of course the special brand of Leninistic-Trotskyan-Stalinistic communism in theory and practice) in addition to those concrete items with which the "adult" regions have made the world familiar during the previous two or three generations. And as for the countries of "infant" modernism, industrialization and technocracy (India, China, etc.), they also would perhaps find hardly any new processes or forms of interhuman relations in addition to those to which they themselves have been getting acculturated although not in as big doses as Soviet Russia. The processes and patterns of societal transformation, progress or social metabolism are universal, human, and uniform.

So far as the first item is concerned, the study is chiefly quantitative and statistical. One has only to place the Russian indices from all fields in the perspective of international statistics. In regard to the interpretation of the comparative data one should have to be particularly careful. The hundred per cent or two hundred per cent increments of the co-efficients in Soviet Russia in the course of three-, five-, seven-year or other periods must not mislead the shrewd statistician. In all primitive countries, indeed, in all new or young movements,—the "relative progress" from month to month or year to

year is bound to appear extraordinarily high because the transformation commences at a very low level. A rise which is very slight by the "absolute" standard, should look under these conditions to be very great, say, 200 or 300 per cent. But those regions or movements which have been acculturated to the same transformation for half a generation or a generation or two may in very many instances have reached the saturation point, so to say, so far as the particular lines or forms of reconstruction and transformation are concerned. It is not possible for these countries or movements at such a high stage of absolute development to exhibit relatively high indices of dynamic movement.

In regard to the spread of elementary education, industrialization, urbanization, etc., the work done in Russia down to 1913 was so little and so primitive when viewed in the light of the total population and the area of the country that, compared to Germany, England, U.S.A. and other regions of adult industrialism and urbanism, Bolshevik Russia was almost in the kindergarten stage, so to say, about 1918-28. Naturally, therefore, from the British, German and American standpoints of absolute industrialization-urbanization complex the achievements of Bolshevik Russia down to 1941, however high relatively by the Czarist standard of 1913-18, may not appear extraordinary, although by all means they are profoundly interesting as evidences of the might of a planned industrial-cum-technocratic revolution. But on the other hand, the viewpoint of countries like India, China, Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, etc.), Indo-China, Thailand, Iran, Turkey, and many of the regions in the Balkan Complex and Latin America cannot be identical with that of these hyperindustrialized and super-modernized adults like England, Germany and the U.S.A. Countries like India were in 1913-18 more or less in the primitive, feudal and agrarian and semi-industrialized conditions of Czarist Russia. These regions of infant industrialization are bound to gaze at the transformation of the socio-economic pattern by Soviet Russia as embodied in the statistical indices with awe and romantic wonder. The statistical magnitudes representing the Russian transformations are then to be appraised in two different ways by two different orders of peoples.

The differences in the viewpoint between the great powers and the "colonial" countries like the Balkan Complex, etc., may be seen in the manner in which the Soviet achievements appear to the former. Let us visualize the sociography of Russia in the economic sphere.

In the perspective of the year 1913 (=100) the Russian output of 1932 yielded the following indices in regard to the articles mentioned against them :—

1. Electric Current	674	9. Superphosphates	1,113
2. Coal	223	10. Cotton Goods	113
3. Naphtha	240	11. Woollen Goods	96
4. Peat (coal)	869	12. Sugar	64
5. Agricultural Machines	658	13. Corn	86
6. Iron Ore	133	14. Raw Cotton	171
7. Pig Iron	148	15. Flax	110
8. Soda	187	16. Beet (sugar)	61

In the above table one can notice the diminution in woollen goods, sugar, corn and beet. But otherwise the index-increases in the perspective of 1913 ranged from 110 to 1,113. In regard to these extraordinary increases Leontief rightly observes in *Die Erfüllung des russischen Fünfjahrplanes*⁴ that several items belong to those branches of industry which are entirely new for Russia. In 1913 many articles were imported from foreign countries and the *swadeshi* (home) manufactures fell far short of the requirements. The figures of 1932 indicated that in those particular branches the *swadeshi* movement had made remarkable progress, but that in other lines the progress was by all means noteworthy although not so striking.

"In the Soviet economy," says Brutzkus in *Das Problem der sowjetrussischen Planwirtschaft*,⁵ "we have the greatest economic paradox that has ever been noticed. The world is amazed by the modern industrial works of colossal dimensions which are rising in a poor and backward country in the quickest tempo. In the same period, however, millions of men are dying of hunger in the country which shortly before exported large quantities of corn to foreign countries and has not yet ceased to export them."

Brutzkus is a Russian. But he has offered a judgment from the standpoint of the "great powers," the industrial and commercial "adults" of the modern economy.

⁴ Article in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Jena, May, 1934, pp. 512-18.

⁵ A paper in the *Festschrift* for the tenth anniversary of the *Weltwirtschaftsinstitut* of the *Handelshochschule*, Leipzig, 1934.

THE STANDARD OF THE "BALKAN COMPLEX"

Evidently the high standard of achievements by which the great powers examine the developments in Soviet Russia cannot be the one employed by economically poorer and politically subordinate countries.

The socio-economic equation between India and China, Iran or the "Balkan Complex" on the one hand and the Latin American states on the other is testified to by the fact that the economic planning in these countries is not conducted along the lines of Italy, Germany and Japan, as says Kutschera,⁶ but along those of "colonies," i.e., dependencies. Latin America is economically and financially dependent on foreign countries although politically independent. Besides, it is in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the economy began to be modernized in technique and organization. The social metabolism in these parts of the New Hemisphere is then more or less akin to that of those regions of the world which are young or infantile in modern capitalism.

No less poor and elementary is the standard of living of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes of Yugoslavia. The social pattern of these races is the farthest removed from that of England. "They seem able to live upon the smell of garlic and a crust of bread," says an English journalist.⁷

In Rumania, as reported by Swiss travellers, whose general standard, as is well known, is Anglo-German in level, the masses live on maize *bolenta* as the staple. And the place of the "smell of garlic" is said to be taken by that of herring. *Bolenta* is made into a pulp boiled out of maize flour with water and salt only but without butter.

The socio-economic antithesis between the "Balkan Complex" (*Osteuropa* and *Südosteuropa* comprising Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria) and "Western Europe" is described in part as follows by Reithinger in *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Europas*.⁸ From west to east and from north to south the employment of capital in economic

⁶ "Planwirtschaftliche Tendenzen in Iberoamerika." (*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, Heidelberg, March, 1939, pp. 229, 234).

⁷ Report of Reuter's diplomatic correspondent from Belgrade on the eve of Germany's declaration of war against Yugoslavia, cabled from London on April 6, 1941, to the *Statesman*, Calcutta, April 7, p. 9.

⁸ Stuttgart, 1936, pp. 21-24. See also his *Wirtschaftsbeobachtung und Wirtschaftsordnung* (Leipzig, 1936), pp. 97-99. About the socio-economic pattern of the Slavs *vis-à-vis* the Asians, see B. K. Sarkar: *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939).

enterprises is on the descending grade. The average standard of life also sinks. In Western Europe the density of agricultural population on farm-areas is between 40 and 60 per square kilometer (1 km. = $\frac{5}{8}$ mile) according to climate and soil. But in Eastern Europe it is between 70 and 100. Down to 1900 emigration to towns was not very effective because of the absence of industries nor to foreign countries on account of the absence of political or diplomatic facilities. The peasants were therefore mostly *schollengebunden*, i.e., bound to their clod. Even at the present moment the intensity and technique of agricultural operations are relatively low and the output necessarily small. By calculating the total corn, fruits and animal products in terms of food-value one finds that, area for area, the output in the Balkan Complex is 50 per cent or even 33 per cent of that in Central and Western Europe. Now since the density of population per square kilometer is larger in Eastern Europe than in Central and Western Europe the agricultural output in the former area is 25 per cent or 16 per cent of that in the latter area.

The "Balkan" standard of living is, therefore, not higher than $\frac{1}{2}$ th or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the "Western-European." The purchasing power of the peasants in Poland, Rumania, Jugoslavia and Bulgaria is likewise $\frac{1}{2}$ th or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of that among the cultivating classes in Germany, France, Holland, England, Scandinavia, etc., says Reithinger in conclusion.

It is natural, therefore, that Soviet Russia's social metabolism should be treated as exceptionally inspiring by the social workers and patriots of the third-rate or fourth-rate countries in Europe and America as in Asia and Africa.

"Sociologie Coloniale"

In the sociology of international relations these approximate equations or parities between India and Poland, India and the "Balkan Complex," indeed, between India and the entire territory from the German to the Russian frontier and from the Baltic to the Eastern Mediterranean, have a special significance which Eur-American scholars have hardly visualized. As long as India remains a political dependency these territories in Eastern and South Eastern Europe, which are so many of her socio-economic peers, comrades, colleagues and cousins, will continue to be treated as colonies or protectorates *in posse*

by some great powers. But if in spite of the backwardness in culture, standard of living, etc., and the multiplicity of races, religions and languages these territories deserve to be endowed with political sovereignty, social science would demand the same status for India, Burma, Indo-China, Sumatra, Java and other islands of Indonesia. The freedom of the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Bulgars, Rumanians, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Greeks and others in Eastern Europe is in sociology but an item of the same order as the freedom of the Bengalis, Punjabis, Marathas, Madrasis, Indo-Chinese, Javanese and so forth in Southern and Eastern Asia. In social psychology, Asia's reactions to Eur-American complications can but be parallel to the attitudes of the Poles, Czechs, Bulgars, Greeks, etc., to the developments in India and South-East Asia *vis-à-vis* political independence.

Sociologically speaking, indeed, no thinker or scholar would deny that from 1453 to 1929 or even 1878 the Balkan Complex was a *de jure* colony or dependency of Turkey, *i.e.*, of an Asian power. No student of international relations can be blind, again, to the *de facto* colonial character of the Balkan lands since 1878 in spite of formal independence. The dictators of these colony-lands were, as is well known, at first, Russia and Austria-Hungary down to 1918. Since then Germany and Soviet Russia have assumed the same rôles. All the time, the hands of France and England have been uniformly in evidence.

It is in connection with the social pattern of the Balkan complex that one should find Maunier the French sociologist's *Sociologie Coloniale* (Paris, 1936) profoundly suggestive. Maunier is interested not so much in the exploitation of the material resources as in the association or intercourse among men. One of the items discussed is the method by which Africans and Europeans come into contact with each other. Another item is their interactions in peace and war. The process by which the "accommodation" or assimilation between the dominators and the dominated is accomplished so that a common order can arise has likewise arrested his attention. In what ways Africans influence the Europeans have not been ignored in this study of race-contacts as prevalent in the colonies or dependencies.

The topics dealt with in Vol. I comprise emigration, domination, association, liberation, opposition, imitation from top to bottom, imitation from bottom to top, and aggregation. In Vol. II Maunier's

study is psychological. But he attaches due importance to the economic, geographical and ethnic factors. Like many other sociologists and social philosophers who take their cue from Hegel, his formula happens to be trichotomic. Domination, assimilation and liberation are the three phases or acts of his colonial drama. The last phase, liberation, is analyzed in the two aspects of liberation-association and liberation-separation. In the discussion on domination the analysis reveals several types of imperialism, namely, spiritual, cultural, military and material. Christianity as well as humanitarianism have been brought in as aspects of guardian-ward relationship. In the analysis of association Maunier takes the view that it is a reform of domination. This association takes the form, first, of hierarchic intercourse, and then of equality. Organised fraternity is the final step in the social intercourse. Liberation is treated, first, as an utilitarian, and, secondly, as a democratic move. Finally comes autonomy.

We have dwelt upon the different kinds of contacts between the races as analyzed by Maunier in regard to the European-African (and European-Asian) relations. In the present context we are interested chiefly in the sociographical fact that all these relations are in evidence in the contacts which the Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians, Macedonians, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Bohemians (Czechs), Poles, and so forth have for hundreds of years exhibited and are still exhibiting *vis-à-vis* their present or some-time dominators, the Turks of Asia, the semi-Asian Russians, as well as the Austrians and the Germans of Europe. In the study of the processes and patterns in social formation we have to admit the existence of colonies, dependencies, colonial mentality, colonial behaviour, etc., on European soil. These colonial regions and races of the European continent, lying as they do between the Germanic and Russian frontiers as well as between the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, are sociologically of the same worth as those in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The sociocultural, economic and political problems of these colonies, located in Europe, occupy the same position in international sociology as those elsewhere. In Delaisi's *Les Deux Europes* (1928) the two Europes have been dealt with chiefly from the standpoint of industrial-agrarian stratification. But the picture of the "Balkan Complex" as exhibited by him furnishes us with evidences in support of the contention that we are dealing here with real colonial problems,—although camouflaged somewhat by different degrees of formal independence.

The pragmatic sociological identities of the world-situation cannot by any means be ignored. The colonial regions of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe may tend to be permanently treated as colonies, semi-dependencies or vassal states by the neighbouring great powers as long as the colonial and semi-colonial territories of Asia, Africa and America do not regain their political independence. This is a kind of "balancing in colonialism" which deserves to be especially investigated in the study of social patterns and may constitute a principal topic of *Sociologie Coloniale* in the near future. The Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgars, Greeks and others in Europe are factually sailing in the same boats as Indians, Indo-Chinese, Javanese, Iraqis, Egyptians, Mexicans, Uruguayans, etc., in a much profounder sense than generally imagined.

NON-ECONOMIC INTERPRETATIONS

Other circumstances remaining the same, let us repeat, municipalization itself, *i.e.*, an Act of the Government which endows certain settlements with a new morphology comprising a set of new powers and duties in an organized capacity, serves as a factor in the reconstruction of human personality and social life. Politics or law thereby becomes a determinant in culture, although not in an *advaita*, *i.e.*, monistic or exclusive manner. The "political interpretation of culture-history" has then to be accepted as a sociological reality within the limitations set by other interpretations, *e.g.*, economic, sexological, religious, etc. The political interpretation is to be taken as one of the numerous non-economic interpretations possible in social phenomena.

In an "Economic Interpretation of the Social Characteristics of Cities" published in the *American Journal of Sociology* (November, 1940) Ogburn and Coombs have come to the conclusion that the correlations of the economic level with the rate of growth, age and racial composition of the population, the sex-ratio, birth and death rates, professions, etc., are "rather small, indicating the presence of many other factors affecting those social characteristics."

And here we may pause a bit to observe once more that every human settlement or agglomeration of some size is the result of immigration. The local inhabitants are just a few. Most of the inhabitants are immigrants. They come either from the neighbouring settlements or from far off. The immigrants may be of the same

race as the local inhabitants or of different races, differing not only from the original settlers but also between themselves. No migration, no village or town. Thus considered, the urbanization of modern times is but a continuation of the millennium-old prehistoric migrations and movements of nomads. It is as phases of the population movements that the diverse categories of villages and towns as social patterns are to be envisaged. From this standpoint one can see the significance of Lasbax's proposition that it is the facts of movements which staked at the origin the forces of civilisation.⁹ The character of the settlement,—village or town,—is, further determined not exclusively by the physical features, climate or soil, as maintains Ratzel in *Anthropogeographie* (1891) or *Politische Geographie* (1897) but in a great measure by the psychological factors of the human personality as Vidal de la Blache, Brunhes and Vallaux would say.¹⁰ It is man that utilizes and humanizes the possibilities or resources of the geographical region in order to establish the social pattern known as village or town.

The non-economic origin of certain seemingly economic and even really economic phenomena like rural or urban colonies, in so far as it is a fact, may seem *prima facie* absurd. Ordinarily speaking, it may appear at any rate to be a paradox. But this paradox reminds one of the statement of Pareto in *Les Systèmes socialistes*¹¹ to the effect that the evidence of those persons who have been present or even taken part in a certain social movement should not be accepted without reserve in regard to the *causes réelles* (real causes) of the movement. These persons may, *unknown to themselves*, be carried away to neglect the real causes and to assign imaginary causes to the movement. Even the promoters of village reorganization, the administrators of rural reconstruction, the champions of urbanization, and exponents of town-planning, garden-city movements, ribbon development, municipal decentralization or zonification and the like,—all require to submit to the pluralistic analysis of instincts, urges, drives or ambitions in order that the social causality may be realistically set forth.

⁹ *La Cité humaine*, Vol. II (Paris, 1927), p. 216.

¹⁰ Vallaux: *Le Sol et l'Etat* (Paris, 1911), Brunhes: *La Géographie humaine* (Paris, 1934), pp. 34, 878, 880, 884.

¹¹ Vol. I (Paris, 1926), pp. 9-10. See also Vol. II, pp. 397-468 for an examination of the economic or materialistic interpretation of history.

Nay, the Bolshevik revolution of Soviet Russia ought to be explained in the main by non-economic forces. It is, in the first place, the purely revolutionary gospel of the intellectuals, and in the second place, their military might and their power to overthrow the existing war-machine that accounts for the Sovietic achievement. The rôle of the poor and the pariah, and especially of poverty, injustice, humiliation and degradation is hardly in evidence in the actual revolt and fight for power as well as ultimate success. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky nor Chicherin nor Stalin can be regarded as a person belonging to the poor and the pariah classes. They are intellectuals in the sense of the Czech sociologist, Blaha, *i.e.*, Brahmins as understood in Hindu social theory. Philosophically, they are responsible for a particular ideology, the doctrine of class-struggle and proletarian dictatorship. It is the strength of this idealistic theory as developed by the Brahmanocracy,—and not so much the factual economic conditions—that must occupy the first place in the interpretation of the Bolshevik *coup d'état*. This *coup d'état* might have ended in a fiasco at the very outset because of the eventual strength of the Czarist army. It might in any case have been crushed by the combined military opposition of the anti-Bolshevik "great powers" of Europe. But the Bolshevik Brahmanocracy had developed a military power, *i.e.*, Kshatriyaism, and this was powerful enough to compel the foreign pro-Czarist movements to submit. Even today, in case Soviet Russia be defeated by any great power or several great powers in a major military-naval-aerial conflict the Bolshevik revolution will most probably cease to exist. Altogether, the presence of certain economic circumstances, however favourable they may have been in the development of the communistic revolution, is not to be overemphasized. The beginnings and developments of the Russian revolution up till now are to be interpreted chiefly although not exclusively in terms, first, of Brahmanocracy, and, secondly, of Kshatriyaism.

The economic interpretation of culture is as a rule supposed to be the only explanation of the Bolshevik revolution. In Soviet Russia itself this is the only orthodox social philosophy not only about the Sovietic regime but in regard to every social, religious, economic and political institution or theory. It should be, therefore, extremely heretical to try to interpret even the Bolshevik revolution itself in terms of non-economic forces. On the basis of the interpretation offered here about the Bolshevik revolution as well as rural-urban transformations

and other socio-cultural movements it should be possible to appreciate the theories of the Russian sociologist, Tugan-Baranovsky.¹² In his *Theoretical Basis of Marxism* (Petrograd, 1905), published thirteen years before the Bolshevik revolution, he had formulated an ideology which in the present author's pluralistic interpretation of culture is found to be reasonable and just. In order to avoid misconceptions it should be pointed out that in this pluralism economic forces are given their due but naturally not as the sole or exclusive determinants.

¹² J. F. Hecker : *Russian Sociology* (London, 1934), pp. 269-78. Cf. M. Ginsberg : *Causality in the Social Sciences* (London, 1935).

THE DRAMATIC LITERATURE OF ORISSA

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RADHANATH, Madhusudan, Phakirmohan, the three pioneers of Modern Oriya literature, had opened up new forms of literature, the lyric, the epic, the novel, but one important form was still left unexplored by them, and that was drama. There was no dramatic literature in ancient Oriya in the modern sense. Even though Orissa was guided very strongly by Sanskrit traditions, there was not even an attempt at translating Sanskrit dramas that we know of. As in many other countries the tentative efforts towards dramatic performances were associated in Oriya with religion; the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the story of Krishna—these have furnished topics for Lila of which both the time of composition and the composer were unknown. Only in the *Ramlilas* of certain districts do we come across the name of a Brahmin called Sadashiva. It is not difficult to speculate that this Ramlila was a gift of the north where Rama has always been a favoured deity. Shri Devendra Satyarthi, the well-known worker in the field of folk songs in India, has picked up songs connected with Rama, but the number of such songs is small. *Suang* is something different from Lila, conceived not with any educational purpose, but purely with the idea of amusement. It has more of the humorous side and little or nothing of the religious. The Lila or religious element and the Suang or Pantomime element, synthetised into the Jatra form, but there the dance of the Suang is more popular. In the petty politics of the village, the Suang has a special importance and exerts a practical “influence,” because its hits seldom miss their effect. There is another sort of dramatic representation, *Gotipua nata*, got up by a *solo* artist, a boy dressed as a girl, who begins to dance, singing some *chaupadi* or other of the Bhanja school of poets. In practice the number of the artists sometimes increases to two and the performance ceases to be confined to the usual solo performance. The *Kela-keluni-nata* (the Kela is a caste employed in tending animals, snakes, etc.; the Sāpa-Kelas of Patya thana still speak a mixed dialect of Oriya and Bengali), Dhobā-Dhobāni-nata, Keuta-Keutani-nata, etc., were comic pieces enacted by

a pair of workers, sometimes a married couple, such as the washer-woman and her hubby, and they furnish a separate variety in the field of the dramatic literature of the old school. Some of the Suangs have been printed and are available. A few of them may be mentioned here as well. Vaishnava Pani is an author of some such Suangs. His *Daksha-Yajna Suang* was written in songs and rhymed conversations. There is another Suang in which we are treated to an account of the quarrel between Durga and Ganga. It is continuous and not divided into acts and scenes, and Shiva ends his song with the words: "Bipra-Vaishnava bhasa Gite,"—Vaishnava the Brahmin in his vernacular song. His *Harischandra Suang* (now called a *Giti-Nāṭya*) begins with the entrance of Nāṭa and Nāṭī, actor and actress, singing together. In a later work, *Vidyā-Sundar Gītāvinaya*, Pani begins by making the Nāṭa and the Nāṭī talk, but this talk is no longer in mere rhymed verse, but in prose sentences. The Suangs are then not independent of Sanskrit tradition, but they effectively reflected that tradition which is at the same time in exact accordance with their community.

Things were pretty well like this in the early years of the nineteenth century, and they had not changed even by the eighties. The art was enviable, but difficult to copy. It was the sight of a Bengali play on the stage of Cuttack that first turned the attention of Ramsankar Ray to the new literary medium that it revealed. He turned at once to the medium and all through his life the composition of dramatic literature absorbed much of his time; thus he wrote *Kanchikaveri* (1880), *Banabala* (1882), *Kalikāl* (1883), *Ram Banabas* (1891), *Budhabar* (1892), *Kamsabadh* (1896), *Vishamodak* (1900), *Jugadharma* (1902), *Kanchanamali* (1904), *Chaitanyālīla* (1906), *Līlavatī* was composed and staged in 1912, *Buraloka* (1917). Ramsankar and Girishchandra, the Bengali dramatist, were thus contemporaries, and their works as such would reveal interesting points of comparison. Ramsankar has left writings in other varieties also; he had translated into Oriya from the *Rigveda Sanhita* and the *Yajurveda Sanhita*, as well as *Ishopanishat*, *Kenopanishat* and *Bhagavadgita*. All these bespeak a diligent pen and an earnest solicitude for literary work. It also shows the great sympathy he felt for the Sanskrit tradition. Specially regarding the new dramatic literature, he may claim to be its pioneer, and it cannot be accounted a small thing to hold that from 1880 to 1917, for the space of 37 years, he continued

to devote himself to the study and cultivation of Oriya dramatic literature. Ramsankar also tried his hand very early at pure poetry, and his *Prem-tari* (1878), a *gatha* or ballad, has been written in the vein of Rabindranath Tagore some of whose poems had then been published ; the story was based on the topic of Goldsmith's *Hermit*. It was first published in the pages of the *Utkala-Madhupa*, and reprinted in book form. It consists of five cantos. The plot of one of the later dramas may be given here to convey an idea of the intent and purpose of the dramatist.

The *Yugadharma* (1902) is a social drama ; there is an honest man whose daughter Rani is a child-widow ; she is the object of a landlord's vulgar design, but two good-natured, pious-minded young-men come to her rescue ; she is then brought up and educated in Calcutta and later on she is married according to Brahmo rites. It will be thus seen that the plot is simple, as conceived by Roy, and that his tendency was to paint life as he had seen it. His *Budhabara* is a farce, with a *prastabana* in which the Sutradhara goes away after singing a moral and prophetic song. In his plays, for *act* we have *abhinaya* and for *scene*, *drushya*. His *Kalikala*, composed in the space of four days on the occasion of a picnic at Nandikeshvar on the bed of the Mahanadi, was written on the eve of Christmas closing, December, 1882. It was staged twice in March, 1883. It was not a farce proper, as the last scene is pathetic, and Radhanath called it a "sério-comic farce." It was praised in the papers—*Dipikā*, the *Samskarak* and the *Oriyā-o-Navasambād*, the last taking the opportunity to comment on "the practical absence of dramas, novels, farces in Oriya." "*Utkala Sahitya bhandarare nataka, upanayasa, prahasana nahin boile hue.*" *Visvajajna*, a *gītīnāṭya* in 4 acts, is of ethical interest, and sets forth that the caste-system enjoined by the Vedas was more elastic than at present and was so enjoined for the proper performance of one's duty. The prologue consists of a song sung by the unseen maidens of fate to the accompaniment of dance ; this is a new feature and may have been prompted by the Bengali dramatist Kshirode Prasad Vidyavinode's works, where they abound ; but it may be remembered in this connection that Ramsankar had already brought upon the stage such *adrista-kumaris* who sing and dance in his play the *Vishamodaka*, written in 1900 and consisting of full five acts. The device then may be due to his readings in other literatures.

The next dramatist of note was Jagamohan Lala who wrote *Satīnātak* : he had previously written *Bhrama-Bhanjan*, and *Babaji*, which was practically not a play at all but a sketch with a purpose, it was in the words of Blumhardt, " a Drama directed against the use of Intoxicating Drugs," and published from Cuttack in 1877. But *Satīnātak*, a story of Garjati oppression, was one of the best Oriya plays. Lala Saheb was an expert in drawing male characters: cf. Sketches of Bahabalendra and Pani Malik. There was a predecessor even to Jaganmohan, viz., Kavichandra Raghunatha Pariksha, who in 1868 from Cuttack published a drama, *Gopinatha Vallabh Natak*, probably a translation from a Vaishnav play in Sanskrit; we may notice in this connection a minor dramatist, a farce-writer named Gauriballabh Pattanayak who wrote *Mahājana-nāṭa* or the Village Tradesman, published in 1889 (Cuttack).

Madhushudan Das in his article on Oriya literature and its history mentions Bhikaricharan Pattanayak,—the author of Oriya plays *Lankā-dahan* (1311 B.S.), *Katakvijay*, and others. Bhikaricharan in his *nāṇḍī* to *Katakvijay* follows the eastern traditions, but attempts blank verse in the deliberations of the Governor-General's Council described in the opening scenes. 'Abhinay' and 'Drushya' are his words for acts and scenes. In scene ii the soldier soliloquising reminds the Bengali reader of a similar one in *Palasir Juddha*—' Oh dear Carolina mine ' !

Madhusudan does not approve of the blank verse of Bhikari in his *Katakvijay* (the full title is *Engrajkartik Katakvijaya Nataka* which was dedicated to the Mayurbhanja Chief) and he is quite justified. If we compare the blank verse of Balaji, the Marhatta governor of Barbati Fort, with that of the Dūta or the messenger, we shall be at once convinced of the charge. Bhikaricharan's blank verse may have a certain dignity of its own, but it does not know how to unbend itself, it is not flexible. The curious amalgam is visible in the *nāṇḍī* according to eastern tradition and the tragic ending which follows the West. As regards the matter, it is evident that the dramatist has been rather hard put to it in reconciling his patriotism with his approbation for the English beneficence in ruling India. Bhikaricharan was a lawyer, and his book-making activities extended to the publication of Selections from Civil Procedure Code in an Oriya-form. His *Ratnamali* and *Sushila* in 1917 deserve to be mentioned also.

Bhikaricharan is the second dramatist of Orissa in the real sense of the term. Of the rest Govinda Ratha was a prolific writer; but he

failed to secure a hold on the mind of younger generation. Kampal Misra (1875-1927) had been a thoughtful writer and fond of music in his boyhood. He had the gift of singing, and composed many songs which are practically lost. Sanskrit and Oriya literature were the favourite studies of Kampal. His *Sitābibāha* (1899) made some noise when it was first published; the writer was then a student of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. In spite of defects, it was a new venture in the mythological dramatic line, and critics who ran it down could not but admit the newness of the conception which prompted it. He graduated in arts and law from Cuttack, had published the *Apurba-swapna* in book form while still a student, served for some time in the superior service of the Mayurbhanj State, then practised at the Cuttack bar for a year or two, when he fell ill, suffered and dragged on till the end. *Sitābibāha* was followed by three other dramas, *Vasantatikā*, *Harischandra* and *Durgā-Shavarī*, and Kampal was engaged in writing a novel as well, named *Prabhāmayee*. But physical infirmities set in, and the last of the plays as well as the novel could not be completed. So his only published play for a long time was the *Sitābibāha*. It begins with a regular classical *Nandī* or prologue in which tradition is maintained, and the acts are divided into the *Drushyas*, by a song descriptive of the spring season. Blank verse is occasionally employed. It is remarkable that in the preface (written by Abhiram Bhanja) a preference is expressed for historical themes, rather than Pauranic topics, as the former would appeal more on account of their connection with Orissa, etc. In other words, there is to be a closer attention to history, to 'reality,' to patriotism.

There is a big gap after Rampal, and we come upon Aswini Kumar Ghose and Godavaris Misra trying their hands at historical drama.

In the early stage of such activities in dramatic composition, Parlakimedi displayed remarkable interest. The prince, Padma Nava Narayan Deva, born on 15th December, 1872, and deceased on 4th February, 1904, was nicknamed the Chandra Raj, or the Moon King, for his beauty. He was trained in English, Bengali, Hindi, Oriya and Telugu, in the first four of which he became proficient. The distinguished Oriya scholar, Samsunder Rajguru, was his tutor, and helped him to compose dramas. The prince set up a stage in the capital and wrote first of all *Pralhāda* or *Sangit Prahlad Natak* which was eventually published in 1901. A few of the songs only were

composed by Rajguru while Sri Benkata Sastri helped him with valuable advice and suggestions as to the principles of dramatic composition. One song of Aparna Panda, a well-read scholar in Oriya literature, was also included. *Ahalya-Shap-O-Mochan* was composed and published in 1902. His *Vāṇa-darpa-Dalan Nātak* was on the subject of Usha Sayambar. He also wrote another drama, *Tārak-Sanghār*, but though staged by the local theatre, it has not yet been published. Another play is to his credit, named *Dāna-Parikshā*, where Karna's truthfulness and beneficence are tested.

How strong the traditional hold still is will be amply proved in *Indira-Parinay* by Chandrasekhar Pani, published in 1911, priced at annas six, dedicated to Her Highness the Rani Saheb of Dhenkanal. Her religious bent, specially a taste for Nrisimha-Puran, had emboldened him to put in a dramatised version the marriage of Lakshmi and Narayan, on Rukmini-Parinay-Ekadasi day. The dedication is in blank verse, and the play is mythological. Noteworthy also is the *Mangalūcharan* or prelude consisting of music to a song sung by the wave girls, first Act, first scene. Lakshmi enters the garden attended by eight companions.

The book seems to contain echoes from Michael Madhusudan :—

kisa se bhavana Indu ! Indunivanane !
heuchhi adhira, matra najane ki pain ?
kamini vedana, sakha ! janai kamini,
na pare apara.

Indira's father had vowed he would bestow her on whoever would hit the mark. But she had meanwhile fallen in love with a portrait of Nrisimha ; this is, as no doubt the entire play in general amounts to, romantic idealisation of the Pauranic account. Neerabati, consort of Barun, has been concerned at the changed outlook of the princess whose heart is revealed in her questions regarding the love of birds and beasts while taking a stroll in the garden. Nrisimha, son of Krishnaballabh, was the chosen one, and he hit his mark all right ; thus he stands the test very well and deserves the win. The fifth Act is very slender, in extent. The scene is Badarikashram. It is full of songs, verses, speeches, etc., in traditional style.

These dramas showing the use of (1) an artificially constructed stage with a complex machinery of (2) wings and (3) scenes, were taken from

the West through Bengali. It was the direct knowledge of Bengali stage that prompted the Oriya enterprise, though later on it may have fallen on its indigenous props. The dramatic works of Aswini Kumar and Godavaris owe a good deal to the works of Dwijendralal Roy. The modern stage in Orissa still carries on the tradition left by Ram-sankar Roy, and in so far as it is progressive it follows in the track of Bengali literature. Thus, there are one-act dramas now, *e.g.*, *Upekshitā*, by Baikuntha Pattanayak (Utkala Sahitya, 1337), the story of Chaya and Devadatta which reminds one strongly of Tagore's Bengali playlet *Vidāy-Abhishāp*.

PSYCHOLOGIST AT WORK IN SCHOOLS

N. MUKERJI

USE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE IN SCHOOLS

SINCE Binet's invention of the system of mental testing (1908) psychologists have shown a keen interest in devising tests of larger variety which could be relied upon for greater accuracy. There could be no objection to stating that, in principle, of all the tests that have been presented till now none has been able to surpass Binet's in quality or originality.

Some of the psychologists, instead of considering the methods for measuring intelligence, only began to search for paths where this newly gained knowledge could be applied. Tests for vocational guidance, for special aptitude, and also for educable capacities are the triumphs of such enquiries. They believed that these tests were to play their part in civilisation without remaining unknown, and such an expectation, as it is now proved, was not without justification.

Industry, before the last war, was moving towards its zenith. Industrialists could not afford to waste time and money by employing those who lacked necessary training or aptitude. Those who had a 'natural' bent towards a particular kind of job required lesser amount of training to become efficient and they were more suitable for the job than the average trained persons. The Industrial world began to realise the value of psychological tests. Tests went down still lower. Now in America any phase of education could not be said to be running on modern principles without the aid of psychological tests of one kind or another. Great Britain has appreciated them later, Germany has acknowledged the value of such tests in every sphere of human activity. The Great War gave an impetus to such tests, those who used them were benefited in return and so were the psychologists. The present war has taken the best that psychology can afford, psychological tests alone are no more sufficient. In India it still remains to be seen which province would take the initiative to introduce psychological tests in Education. The needs may be summarised here.

Any examiner in the educational world would agree, if it be said that one of the fundamental functions of examination, final or otherwise, is to compare the intelligence¹ among the examinees, but there is no denying the fact that the status of such a function stands below par at examinations where the capacity for memorising gets the highest credit. Psychologists have shown times and again, and experimentally too, that there is a minimum amount of positive relation between the 'faculty' of memory and native intelligence.

If, and only if, we desire to overhaul the existing system of examination the first duty would be to offer intelligence its appropriate place in examinations. There are two available methods which can help such in action.

First, and the easier way, lies in the application of a battery of tests² along with ordinary examinations and then either pool the marks or use the intelligence tests as a sort of check. The examinees may or may not be informed beforehand, as the situation may demand, that the results of the psychological tests would be taken into account in the examination.

Another procedure that may be followed is to make use of objective tests in examination. Here, instead of supplying tests to be answered in lengthy essay forms, as is the usual custom in examinations, various sub-questions are asked to which the candidate has to answer by marking the correct answer out of several already suggested by the examiner. It is needless to mention that among the suggested answers only one per cent is correct. An example is supplied below :

The "land of the midnight sun" is ... Central Africa.
Alaska.
Tierra del Fuego.
Norway.

Here, simply by putting a cross after Norway not only is time saved but the examiner too knows clearly how much the candidate has understood and has learnt his subject. To avoid chance factors in answers a long list of questions can be put conveniently within a

(1) The most apt definition of intelligence is "the ability to discover essential relations between items of knowledge, whether perceived or thought of and the ability to deduce correlates."

(2) A set of tests, which tests the same mental factor, divided into various sub-tests of somewhat varying nature.

short time. This procedure has another advantage. The "element of luck" in examinations is discarded to a very large extent and a wider survey of the subject, which is the essential principle underlying all examinations, is possible without causing unnecessary fatigue to the examinee. Further, the system of marking, as partial marks are not allowed here, becomes quite rigid and scientific. Speaking of the system of marking, it would be an interesting enquiry to determine how an examiner, during the usual procedure of examinations, differentiates the values of 16 and 17 marks out of, say, 20 when the allots these marks to two examinees for a particular answer. The new type of examination, as described above, would be fool-proof from this point of view.

The only serious objection that has been put against the new type of examination is that it excludes the required 'coherence in answer.' Such abilities, it is argued, as organisation of materials or expression of systematic thoughts, are not represented in the objective tests in examinations.

Objective tests have been found to be extremely helpful in subjects like science, mathematics, geography, history, civics, etc., and efforts have proved that the same results may be expected in the direction of literature too. In the first group of subjects mentioned above we find that the chief elements for examination, if analysed, are the factors of comprehension, attainment and memory. In the case of a subject like pure literature one more factor is added and it is the ability to express coherently. Yes, the capacity for consistent expression comes into play in other subjects too, but not necessarily. Personally, I think, it would meet the present objection if we add, in the case of examinations in pure literature, one question which is to be answered in the 'essay form'; for that purpose plenty of questions which would cover the full range of the particular subject in literature could be supplied out of which the examinee may be offered the choice for the question he thinks he can answer most satisfactorily.

Finally, it may be reminded, that this process of examinations after all is not so novel as supposed in many quarters. It would be a true statement to make that America still remains the pioneer in this field. At any rate, if we, in India, may be getting accustomed to pronounce with awe 'oh yankees' when it is mentioned about the new efforts in every direction in America, to absorb the shock, it may be added that even England and Scotland are not lagging

behind now in appreciating the advantages of these tests. Tests of various kinds have been introduced at different stages of primary and secondary education. The status of objective and other tests there is notable, specially in scholarship examinations, school final examinations, elementary schools efficiency examinations, examinations held at regular intervals in secondary schools or for selecting candidates for special competitive examinations.

PSYCHOLOGIST AT SCHOOL

About a decade ago when arrangements for medical examination were introduced into schools most of the teachers and dilettante public raised a common objection that precious school time would thus be wasted. Objections have already been raised against the idea of supplying 'tiffin' in schools. Objections are inevitable whenever and wherever a novel system is introduced, in any country, from one quarter of society to another. It is not objection but the need for the system that should be closely scrutinized.

Practically in every school there is a number of students who are a problem to the teachers and a great aid to other students in dragging them into a life which later proves to be misery for the boys and their guardians. The authorities concerned ultimately feel compelled to take serious steps against such characters, which simply makes the matter worse, or as a headmaster told me, "they are careful and clever to overlook the black sheep."

Examinations of such cases have revealed that a majority of them are emotionally unbalanced or unstable. Undue punishment or harsh treatment at home, negligence on the part of parents or guardians, unstable love or hate being showered by the different members in the family and lack of sympathy or proper understanding are the chief factors that result in such misfits. It is during the school years that a boy or a girl passes through rapid stages in the growth of the body, but the development of mind outruns physical growth. Elders are generally unable to appreciate this psychological transitory period and the amazing situation in which the whirlpool of maturity is placed. A slightly wrong direction by the captain, and the boat goes out of control.

A touch of sympathy in one case, gaining confidence in another, and curious histories begin to pour which form the mental background. The pent-up emotion, at this age, of jealousy, hatred,

disgust, love, fear, loneliness and a horde of others cannot and do not remain subdued for a long period without being positively harmful. At this age brooding is more dangerous than clear manifestations of mental thorns. The beginnings are mostly simple but complications do not take long to arise.

Now, the question that stares us in the face is who would take care of these cases. Parents and guardians, who are generally connected with the roots of these mental maladjustments are far from being fit persons to treat such cases. Teachers in schools are already overburdened with their duty and the number of pupils is generally too high for personal supervision. Besides, they are not competent enough, for lack of proper training in this direction, to handle problem cases. The most suitable persons under such circumstances would be trained psychologists; not only because they are 'outsiders' whose confidence a difficult child would more readily accept but, also, it is their profession which gives them the unique position for undoing the knots of mental complications. Mental world and physical world differ extensively in nature; it takes a pretty long time, I daresay, for people of any other profession to get a glimpse of the realm of mind. From the very beginning of our educational career we are fed on the knowledge of the physical world. Proper conception of the mind, even for those persons who have received academic education in other subjects save in the mental sciences, proves to be extremely difficult. Complexities in the mental mechanism are of far varied nature than are commonly appreciated.

The only reasonable and concrete suggestion, then, that can be made here for those 'misguided' creatures who suffer and cause suffering to others is that every school should employ a psychologist properly trained for consultation. It would not be out of place to mention here that a problem case, specially of approaching maturity, could not, of course, be referred openly to a psychologist in the same manner as a medical man is consulted for diseased persons. Repression in human society, which plays its part in diverse ways, makes it difficult even for a young tot to open his heart without any hesitation. A tactful handling of the individual cases is as much essential for beneficial results as the co-operation between parents, teachers and the psychologists.

EDUCATION AND A FREE SOCIETY IN PALESTINE

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CONSIDERING from the viewpoint of numbers, the Hebrew educational system of Palestine is small. All told, only 56,000 pupils are enrolled in the kindergartens, elementary schools, secondary schools and teachers' colleges of the system. These 56,000 pupils form more than two thirds of the Jewish school population of Palestine.

However, the Hebrew educational system is of far greater significance than its size would suggest. This arises not only from its dynamic character, from its rapid growth from year to year, but also from the fact that it is merely the nucleus of a far greater development which is now proceeding at a remarkable pace. Nor does its principal significance lie in the fact (though this, too, is of interest) that in no other community in the world are the schools attended by almost 100% of all children of school age, even though education is not compulsory and the Government contributes only about L.P. 50,000 a year to the Hebrew school budget of nearly half a million. The costs of education are an enormous drain upon the resources of the community. Though the difficulties of balancing the ever-expanding budget become greater with every year that passes, the Jewish community refuses to economise on the costs of education. All possible savings are made in other respects so as to maintain the educational system. In many localities—and this applies with particular force to the collective agricultural settlements—the people stint themselves on their food rather than cut down the allowance for schooling.

The lack of compulsory education laws and the very scanty subsidy granted by the Government are naturally somewhat discouraging factors, and indeed, call for prompt remedy. Nevertheless, they go to show that Hebrew education in Palestine is established on a voluntary basis, and that it is a manifestation of that deep-rooted

faith of the Jewish people in the supreme importance of learning which is so salient a characteristic of that people.

What I should like to stress is this: That the national system of Hebrew education in Palestine is the vanguard of a great people dispersed throughout the world which is in process of re-establishing its nationhood. In all other countries Jews are also met with: English Jews, French Jews, American Jews, Polish Jews, Persian Jews, and so on. Only in Palestine you will meet Jewish Jews. Only in Palestine has Jewish unity been created out of Jewish diversity. It is, therefore, not at all strange that Jewish education in other countries should come increasingly under the influence of the pioneering ideals and standards of Jewish Palestine, which has already stamped an ineffaceable impress upon the Jewry of the whole world, and will become ever more pronounced as time goes on. And because the Jews are an international people, it is very likely that Jewish Palestine will also have an indirect influence upon the nations in whose midst they live and with whom they have many points of contact. Conversely, the Jews of all other countries exert their influence upon the Palestinian community: directly, when they come to settle in the land; and indirectly, through various psychological and economic channels. The Jewish vanguard in Palestine becomes aware of current trends in other countries, and has its outlook broadened, so escaping the dangers of provincialism. Because the position of Palestine is unique, it is very likely that its Hebrew educational system will become a clearing house for educational aspirations, an important centre for the import and export of ideas.

From the viewpoint of progressive education, there is this significant factor to be considered: that, willy nilly, the Jews must always be more or less progressive in their outlook. Except in Palestine, the Jews will remain a minority in the countries of their domicile. The rights of a minority group necessarily depend upon the sense of justice, the spirit of freedom, and the progressive outlook of the majority in a given country. Since the Jewish people is doomed to a permanent minority status, it is obliged in self-defence to champion social progress and to promote a spirit of mutual toleration. Hence it follows that the centre of Jewish culture and education in Palestine will stimulate progressive thinking and action so far as its range of influence may extend.

But this promising trend of which I speak must be regarded as a hope for the future rather than a present day reality. None the less, the sum of Palestinian achievement is already quite considerable. The most important results of national Hebrew education in Palestine during the past generation may be summed up as follows:—

- (1) Liberation of the human being in the young Jew ;
- (2) Unification of the Jewish people ; and
- (3) Revival of the ancient Hebrew language.

I shall dwell briefly on each of these three achievements.

It was natural that Palestine should have freed the human being in the young Jew. Palestine is today the only place in the world where the Jew is not prevented from being himself. That fact has had a profound effect upon the character-formation of the Jewish youth in Palestine. The well-integrated and free Jewish personality has become characteristic of Palestine, and is decidedly different from the usual Jewish type in other countries. The Diaspora Jew is the hyphenated Jew, the Jew torn by conflicting impulses, dissociated within himself. In that Jew there live two selves which are sometimes diametrically opposed to each other. Those inner spiritual conflicts sap his very life-blood. One of the great writers of the Jewish renaissance, Mendele Mocher Sefarim, was in the habit of saying that two Mendeles who hated each other were continually struggling in his inward parts. "When I look upon the Jewish scene from afar," he remarked, "and note the toil and trouble, the poverty and need of the people, their hard struggle for existence, with the Shekumah (divine spirit) brooding over them in spite of everything, I am stirred to pity and my heart goes out to them ; then I pray: Would that all the heads of the children of Israel were joined into one head, that I might clasp and kiss it with all the fervour of my soul in eternal love ! But when, at other times, I regard the inner life of the Jews and the ugly traits they have acquired, the foulness of their "swamps," the hatred and rivalry that prevail in their midst, I am filled with an emotion of deepest disgust, and I say: Would that all their heads were joined into one head ! Then would I stamp it underfoot like a worm until no vestige of it remained !"

This double Jewish personality produced a tragic cleavage in Jewish life for many centuries. On the one hand, the Jew steadfastly maintained his convictions without yielding to attacks and provocation,

and never flinched from his truth. In the course of his history he saw—and still sees to-day—how institutions of education and higher learning disseminate hatred against Jews, how institutions of justice are void of justice where Jews are concerned, how farcical are the so-called minority rights. Yet the Jew still continues to hope and to aspire, and to create without cursing the world or rising up to destroy it. But, on the other hand, we see him kissing the rod of the smiter, flattering his oppressors, concealing his Jewishness, and covering his impotence and decrepitude with the fig leaf of hyper-intellectualism. The Jew was a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde among the peoples of the world.

It was the way of the Jewish youth to follow the example of the Jewish adult. In the public school—and nowhere more so than in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe—the Jewish pupil was quiet, submissive even abject in the presence of authority; but in the teacher's absence he grew defiant, boisterous, high-handed, arrogant. Palestine has healed this ominous inner rift in the soul of the Jewish youth. In Palestine the Jews have been re-integrated, restored wholly to their Jewish selves, carrying themselves upright and erect, and facing the world frankly.

The Jewish child in Palestine hardly knows the meaning of fear. He is courageous, unflattering and outspoken in his dealings with his fellows and with those in authority over him. Hence there may be some justice in the criticism often levelled against Hebrew education in Palestine: that it has not inculcated good manners and good form.

But then, one can hardly stop to save the flowers when the woods are burning. The first Jewish generation in Palestine wished to relieve themselves of the burden of Diaspora dissimulation and to become free men. With their Diaspora behaviour they also threw off certain conventional social forms which were worth while in themselves; and in some instances the loss was real. However, the main purpose was achieved: integration of the Jewish self and liberation of the Jewish personality. The Jewish child feels thoroughly at ease in the Hebrew school in Palestine. It has nothing to hide from his teacher; nor is he afraid of him. The relationship between teacher and pupil is that of equals, without tension or sense of coercion. The pupil feels entirely free to express his ideas. In many of the schools—perhaps as many as one fourth—it is customary for

pupils to address their teachers by their first names, without any prefix of Mr. or Miss. Truancy is unknown. No equivalent for the word "truancy" is to be found in the Hebrew dictionary. From whatever angle you view the Palestinian school, you are bound to realise that in Palestine the Jewish youth have learned to bear themselves like free men. The straight backs and erect posture of the Palestinian pupils are a joy to behold. Newcomers can often be distinguished because their movements are less natural and their carriage less erect. It is freedom which has straightened the backs of the Palestinian youth.

A new well-integrated Jewish generation is now growing up in Palestine. They have not yet freed themselves wholly from the effects of the long night of Jewish suffering, but already you can discern the light of a new dawn in their eyes. Reared in freedom and living in a free society, they have a strong zest for life. Confident and eager they wait to launch out on the restless tide which is Palestine's history in the making.

The second outstanding achievement of Hebrew education in Palestine is the unification of the Jewish people. A generation ago the Jewish population groups in Palestine varied widely from one another. Each group had its own specific way of life, which differed from the others even in religious matters; its own language; its own dress; its own cookery. In a word, each group had a mental make-up which differed from every other, and a different outlook on life. There was little contact between the groups. Though marriages between one group and another were not forbidden, they were very rare; and a "mixed marriage" was a nine days' wonder. When all these groups met in Palestine a generation or more ago, we were like a chaos of disintegrated atoms: our life needed institutionalisation. A center of radiation became an impressive necessity for us. The bits of broken metal that were our life had to be picked up and pieced together and fused in a single lump. It is, indeed, the task of education to render us dissimilar to each other, and thus to enrich human thought and activity; but it is no less the business of education to make us similar and like-minded to a certain degree, so as to create harmony between people in their mental exchange and in their overt behaviour. This is one of the most important problems in our contemporary Jewish sociology. It was not only that the Jews were in Exile: the Jewish people itself was in Exile, and not merely one

Exile but dozens. Then Palestine became the meeting-place of all the isolated and detached fragments of a scattered people returning from the Ghettos of Vilna and of London, from the icy steppes of Siberia, the tents of the Yemen, and the plains of Bokhara.

Within a single generation the Hebrew school of Palestine has succeeded in knitting together those shattered fragments and welding them into a homogeneous whole. The process of fusion and unification has been very successful, though it is still incomplete. The Jewish population of Palestine, old and young, still lacks a standard code of customs for such matters as exchange of greetings in the street, table manners and dress, just as it lacks a characteristic architecture. The adults as a rule hold fast to the manners and customs they brought to Palestine from the countries of their origin, but the growing generation is rather at sea for lack of an accepted standard; and different behaviour patterns exist side by side. However, this lack—important as it is from the social point of view—is far outweighed by the function performed by that great unifying agency in Palestinian Jewry, the Hebrew school. When you enter a classroom in a Hebrew school in Palestine and you find that the 40 pupils come from 15 or 20 different countries of origin, spaced as widely apart in climatic zones and in culture as Oxford in England and Sa'ana in the Yemen; and when you see them amalgamated to such an extent that it has become difficult to distinguish the original social and cultural strata, you realise that you are witnessing a most interesting historic process which is taking place in our own generation: the process whereby a nation, through the unifying factor of schooling, regains its identity, finally re-discovering its true self after having lost it for many a century.

In this process of unification, the renascence of the Hebrew language has played a very important rôle. Hebrew is to-day the sole language of instruction in the Hebrew school system of Palestine, the only language employed in the Jewish press and the Jewish theatre. It is true that in the past Hebrew was regarded as the national treasure-house of the Jewish people, and served as the vessel in which the Jewish culture was preserved. But its modern career is quite without parallel. There have, of course, been instances where a people which spoke a certain vernacular revived their ancient literature, as was done by the Greeks in our own times. But ours is the first instance of a people transforming its ancient

literary language into a colloquial tongue, for Hebrew is to-day the colloquial tongue of the Jews in Palestine. The modern Hebrew shows a remarkably close correspondence to the Hebrew of the Bible both in vocabulary and syntax. One who knows the Bible can readily understand Palestinian Hebrew ; and, conversely, he who is familiar with modern Hebrew can read and understand a simple passage of the Bible with little difficulty. Of course, some modern words have been incorporated into the Hebrew language, but its rock-bottom vocabulary is practically the same as in the days of the Psalms and the Mishna. Only in one respect has there been a loss ; the original Hebrew accent has been rather badly spoiled, but there is good reason to expect that it can be improved, especially under the influence of the cognate Arabic. But, even after allowing for all improvements, there will still (so it seems) remain an enormous difference between the present-day Hebrew accent and Hebrew as pronounced in the days of the First and the Second Temple on the one hand and the Third Temple on the other. I can hardly convey the joy of Palestinian Jewry at having found, with the aid of the Hebrew school, a common language in the simple sense of the word. Tens of thousands of Palestinian adults, and the whole generation of the youth, find in Hebrew the only language in which they can freely express their thoughts both by word of mouth and in writing. The Hebrew language has thus performed the historic service of unifying the Jews of our generation. Only a generation ago we had a Babel of tongues in Palestine. When Herzl organised the Zionist movement in the 1890's, he thought that German might become the language of most of the Jews in Palestine. The Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden had German taught in the Jewish school which it founded in Palestine before the war. The Alliance Israelite Universelle introduced French, and the Anglo-Jewish Association English in their Palestinian schools. In the old Ashkenazic community Yiddish was the medium of intercourse, while the Sephardic groups spoke Ladino, Arabic, and many another Oriental tongue. As may be imagined, there was confusion worse confounded. And then Hebrew came and linked all the groups together, serving them as a common spiritual denominator. It became the vehicle of the spiritual unification of the people, bridging their religious past with a contemporary life which is tending to become more and more secular. The Hebrew language also performed the ancillary task of transforming the traditional Jewish curriculum, and making

possible an ordered system of instruction based on modern standards of learning. And it is because the Hebrew language has a unique place in the Jewish folk-soul that it has been able to discharge such functions as these without causing a serious breach in the integrity of the national being.

Hebrew education in Palestine is now faced with many problems which it will have to solve, or try to solve, in our own generation. From among the most urgent educational problems which confront us, I should like to pick out three, namely :

- (1) Adjustment of the Hebrew schools to Palestinian realities ;
- (2) Balancing individuality with conformity in Hebrew education ;
- (3) Balancing nationalism with internationalism in the Hebrew schools of Palestine.

I shall discuss these three problems *seriatim*.

The Hebrew schools of Palestine must be rooted in the soil of the reality in which they grow. On the whole, we are still far from having achieved our object in this connection. Our present curriculum is mere patchwork, pieced together from translations of various European and American patterns, plus rather extensive requirements for Hebrew learning. Our curriculum is still not enough of an organic growth developing out of the needs of the country and of the people returning to its ancestral land. One of the most important tasks devolving upon the Jewish community of Palestine at the present time is that of emancipating itself from the need of economic assistance from abroad. A community which has not achieved economic independence cannot become entirely free in its spiritual and social life. The Jewish people will undoubtedly continue its efforts to establish an ever larger community in Palestine, and continue to make financial sacrifices for that purpose as hitherto. However, the present community is in duty bound to become wholly self-supporting. Now, the one way to win economic independence in Palestine is to foster Jewish agriculture and industry. And it is to the Hebrew schools that the community in Palestine must look for active co-operation. The help given by the schools up to the present has been decided by inadequate. There are only a few Jewish agricultural and technical schools, and they do not satisfy the vital needs of the Palestinian community. The school system will not be doing all that may rightly be expected of it unless it provides practical pre-vocational and vocational training in agriculture

and handicrafts for most of the pupils. Only thus can the schools educate a free generation in Palestine.

The problem of adapting Hebrew education to Palestinian realities has its spiritual aspect as well. A curriculum congested with numerous subjects may have been suitable for the Jews in the Diaspora, since many were immersed in religious studies and many more were preparing to enter the liberal professions. But the educational background in Palestine is quite different, and its youth must be prepared to devote their brawn as well as their brains to the restoration of their country. The hewers of wood and the drawers of water, those who drain the swamps and do police duty must also be drawn from the ranks of the Palestinian Jewish youth. But unless the young people are linked up very closely with the deriving purpose of Jewish pioneer work in Palestine, they will look upon their task as mere drudgery, when life is hard enough in Palestine in any event. But the Hebrew schools have not hitherto done all that needs to be done in this field.

The rehabilitation of Palestine does, it is true, occupy a place in the curriculum—none too large a place—but the instruction is too abstractly patriotic. The Jewish pupil does not get in school a clear conception of the problems—economic, social and political—of the country. He is not taught enough about the progress of agriculture and industry in Palestine and his duties in regard thereto. The school does not suggest to him what might be his attitude toward the British people, which holds the mandate for Palestine, toward the Arab people, his neighbours in Palestine, and toward the Jews of the Diaspora, who still form 97 per cent. of the whole Jewish people. He knows too little about the problems of imports and exports, and about the causes and the consequences of the unfavourable trade balance. Only if the pupils are taught these and many other things, will their studies become truly meaningful for them.

A modern sociologist has compared a community without a purpose to a mill near a brook whose waters have dried up. Seemingly, all that is needful is at hand: The mill is there, and the wheels, and the grist for grinding. The workers stand ready to begin, but they can do no work because the essential factor is missing: the power to move the wheels. It is a purpose in life which guides the individual and furnishes the driving power for all his activities. The definition of "work" in mechanical science reads: By work is meant the surmounting of all obstacles along a given path. Not obstacles in

general, but "along a given path". If there be no "given path", there can be no work in the true sense of the term. And now the Jewish people has found an aim for itself. It had an aim in the past, but lost it in the era of Emancipation when the walls of the old Ghettos fell. But now it has an aim again: to restore the Land of Israel and to surmount all obstacles in its path toward that goal. A driving purpose is one of the chief treasures of a people. It is their pillar of fire. For the Hebrew school system of Palestine the aim of restoration presents an extraordinary opportunity which ought to be exploited to the full. If the school curriculum were harnessed to the national and social aim, it would give interest and savour to the studies of the youth; without that aim his studies seem like untimely fruits dropped from his tree of life. Therefore the Hebrew schools of Palestine ought to harness themselves body and soul to the aim of the restoration of Palestine.

Speaking of the restoration of Palestine brings me to the second problem, that of *individualism versus homogeneity*. To reconcile the inclinations of the individual with the demands of society is one of the most exacting problems of education. So it is the world over, and so it is in Palestine. Mental gregariousness is the foe of original and independent thinking. Any deviation of the individual from the conventional trodden paths of the herd is regarded by the herd as a pathological symptom. But, in the long run, human society becomes only the poorer when deviations and distinctions are eliminated.

Now-a-days we believe that prophets enriched human society. But in their own day and age these daring souls were considered half-mad disturbers of the public peace. But unless individual traits are fostered and encouraged, there can be no progress in human thought, no new social experiments, no art, literature, nor philosophy.

Yet, contrariwise, it is very dangerous to exaggerate the importance of the individual in times of national emergency, just when a sense of solidarity and of discipline and a resolute community will be most needed. Such exaggerated individualism places the ego on a par with and even above the group.

In Palestine the spiritual revival coincides with the political. The spiritual revival requires us to encourage individuality and to emphasise the intellectual and emotional differences between each man and his fellow. Society in Palestine must not be like a Leviathan, swallowing up the individual, depriving him of his peculiar

characteristics, and digesting him whole. Such a process would enfeeble our spirit and impede the progress of our renaissance. Yet, on the other hand, we require for the restoration of our homeland and for our national salvation a sense of solidarity with the group, self-discipline, and readiness for self-sacrifice so that with united and well organised forces we may beat off the attacks of the hatred which encompasses us all round about. And national homogeneity is essential, in order that we may be enabled to assimilate the continuous influx of immigrants and to form a united social group, with a common centre of imitation and suggestivity which will radiate emotions, beliefs, and aspirations to all sections of the community.

To reconcile the just demands of the individual with the vital needs of the community in Palestine is a most delicate task. The Jews are a nation of extreme individualists, but luckily they also possess a strongly developed social sense. In Palestinian Jewry there is much Jewish pathos for the regeneration of society. The social foundations of Zionism—of pioneering Zionism, in particular—are very strong. Some important beginnings have already been made. About half of the land owned by Jews in Palestine is not private property. More than one third of the Jewish land has been nationalised by the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, and the PJCA (Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association), too, holds large areas of land. The co-operative movement is widespread in Palestine, and there is a whole series of collective and semi-collective agricultural settlements. It is instructive to draw a comparison between individualistic pioneering in that country which until some years ago was the most individualistic in the world—the United States of America—and the social pioneering of the Jews—in Palestine in our own day. Over against the American pioneer who relied solely on himself and on his own means in blazing a trail through the virgin forests and staked a claim there for himself and his family, stands the Jewish pioneer in Palestine, subsidised by public Jewish funds as the vanguard of the nation in its effort to achieve political, social, and cultural emancipation. Jewish pioneering in Palestine is based on co-operation, and is devoted to the public good. The Palestinian pioneers have not made their sacrifices in order to secure a good living for themselves and their families: there is no opportunity to become a man of property in the collective or semi-collective settlements. Their sole aim is to create national settlements on the soil of the homeland, and in their own

form of society to promote co-operation instead of unrestrained competition. Thus did the impotent yearnings of radical Jewish individualists find scope for constructive activity. The son of the radical Jewish individualist bows his shoulder, lifts up his burden, and carries it. The son of the dreamer of the Ghetto is discovering a new mode of life in which his lessened individual freedom is compensated by social pioneering and co-operation to replace our individualistic competition.

Another problem of crucial importance in Jewish education in Palestine is to find the *correct balance between nationalism and internationalism*. It would be a dire tragedy for us Jews—a greater tragedy than any which befell us in the past—if our national soul were to be poisoned by a feeling of animal hate against other peoples. For us Jews narrow nationalism would be a blind alley leading straight to disaster. It is the Jewish people's inalienable right and also its inescapable duty to strengthen itself in Palestine in numbers, in wealth, in organisation, and in defence, so that it will not be subject to others. That it must do if it does not wish to commit suicide, or to become even in Palestine a minority dependent upon the good graces of the majority. The Jewish people in Palestine desires to be a good neighbour to the Arabs, but absolutely refuses to be dominated by them. The two peoples must live together in Palestine, each one free and its own master. That is the minimum with which sound and constructive Jewish nationalism can be content. That is the minimum ; but it must also be the maximum. We dare not let our Jewish nationalism become a rachitic child of European chauvinism. The time is near when the Jews in Palestine will feel in themselves a measure of strength for the first time in thirty seven jubilees of years. Then our national being will take shape. During all the long years of our exile we Jews carried the motto of justice on our banner. Was it only the wish of a persecuted national minority or the authentic purpose of the People of Israel, not to be forsaken even after it has achieved power again ? We are in the habit of thinking—rightly so, it seems to me—that the attitude of a people toward the Jews is the touchstone of its culture and social intelligence. And now, the attitude of Jewry in Palestine toward the other peoples of the country will prove whether the justice we championed was the justice of the weak because he is weak, or the justice which is our ideal, irrespective of our strength or weakness.

I earnestly trust that Palestinian Jewry will come through its ordeal purified and refined, and I believe that it is pre-destined to become the shield-bearer of the forces of international conciliation.

And when, in the not too distant future, Palestinian Jewry has surmounted its difficulties with its Arab neighbours, and peace reigns between the two neighbour-peoples, I dare to hope that Hebrew education will contribute abundantly towards the uplift of Jewish life everywhere and of human life in this corner of the world.

THE GEORGIAN REVIVAL AND RETURN TO NATURE*

KALIPADA CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Stephen Prizeman)

II

§ 12. THE PASSION FOR THE ACTUAL: IMPRESSIONISTIC ATTITUDE OF THE GEORGIAN POETS

EVERY poet now gives us what is most significant to him, what he has himself experienced with his eye and ear. While he gives us a natural scene, he gives us the minutiae of his personal experience and not the vivid photographic details of things or anything which does not exist in nature. He does never obtrude his feelings on nature like the Romantic poets, nor does he give us conventional pastoral scenes of the Eighteenth century, but the particular impression of the scene of some particular moment of his experience. When there Masfield gives us the glimpse of an evening :

‘Twilight. Red in the west.
Dimness. A glow on the wood,
The team plods home to rest.
The wild duck comes to glean !

—we feel at once the advent of an actual evening in some particular English village with all its quietness and dimness. This is not the photographically detailed description of an evening as we find in the *Ode to Evening* of Collins, nor the emotional picture of an evening that lives in the poet's imagination. It seems that poetry is now passing through the same phase of evolution ‘that painting went through in the days of Impressionism.’ When Mr. Flecker gives us a picture of a ship lying anchored at the bay in a bright moon-lit night he gives us the essence of what he has personally experienced :

‘A ship, an isle, a sickle moon,
With few but with how splendid stars

* Continued from our last issue.

The mirrors of the sea are strewn
 Between their silver bars.
 An isle beside an isle she lay
 The pale ship anchored in the bay.'

And when Mr. Padraic Colum gives us the picture of a plougher on the furrowed land, how much he differs from the conventional pastoral poets !

'Sunset and silence! a man around him
 Savage earth broken,
 Besides him two horses, the brutes, the
 dawn-man
 There in the sunset,
 And the plough that is twin to the sword
 That is founder of cities.'

§ 13. NATURAL PANORAMA : PICTORIAL EFFECT AND IMAGERY

Modern poetry can thus boast of a variety of description ; and it, as sometimes alleged, does not lack in pictorial effect, though it has lost the musk-rose fragrance and sensuous colour effect of Keats. Such a poem as De La Mare's *Silver* is a superb colour study delighting us as a piece of fine painting would. It has the additional charm of a cool liquid rhythm. He 'even goes so far over the borders of romance' as to give the moon 'silver shoon.'

(1) *Love of Colour in De La Mare*

'Slowly, silently, now the moon
 Walks the night in her silver shoon ;

 One by one the casements catch
 Her beams the silvery thatch ;
 Couched in his kennel, like a dog
 With paws of silver sleeps the gog ;
 From their shadowy cote the white breasts feel
 Of doves in a silver feathered sleep.
 A harvest-mouse goes simpering by,
 With silver claws, and silver eye ;
 And moveless fish in the water gleam,
 By silver reeds in a silver stream.'

(ii) Pictorial effect in Gibson

Again many of the characters of Gibson's poems are conceived in colour, *e.g.*, the washerman bending at the stream is 'white capped and red-armed,' and the harvesters' throats are 'copper-glowing,' the country wife's face 'burns red-golden beneath her red-white cap.' The sureness of Gibson's eye and the fidelity of his painting in these characters differentiate them from those of others.

We also have Hodgson's picture of the gipsy girl with her rounded features, her tawny complexion, her large golden air-rings and her gay clothes which half-conceal and half-reveal her physical charm. The very wild beauty of her eyes remind us at once of La Esmeralda of Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame*.

(iii) Simple beauty of Thomson's description

The simple and pure beauty in which E. Thomson has conceived his pictures strikes us with a certain solemnity and joy :

'The Church and the yew
And farm house slept in a Sunday silentness.
The air raised not a straw. The steep farm roof
With tiles glowing entertained
The mid-day sun'. —*The Manor Farm*.

Or,

'The dim sea glints chill. The white sun is shy.
And the skeleton weeds and the never dry
Rough long grasses kept white with post
At the hill top by the finger-post.'

—*The Sign-post*.

(iv) Pictorial description in Drinkwater

The pictorial effect in Drinkwater's description of the trees in June should not be ignored in any way :

'The chestnut cones were in the lanes
Blushing and eyed with ebony
And young oak-apples lovingly
Clung to their stems with rosy veins
Threading their glossy amber.'

(v) *Masefield's descriptive quality*

And every image of Masefield's *Cargoes* is brilliant and magnificent:

'Stately Spanish gallion coming from the Isthmus,
Dipping through the Tropics by the palm green shores
With a cargo of diamonds
Emeralds, amethysts
Topazes, and cinnamon and gold moidores.'

(vi) *Natural Magic of Kipling*

I quote from Kipling not of the nineties, but of later days, to show how keen are his eyes not only on the tints and shades of colour but on the subtlest effects of light. Here is the picture of the celebrated pearl necklace 'Naulakha': 'The stones kindled with the glow of the dawn, and mocked the shifting colours of the hill. The shining ropes of gems put the shame to red glare that shot up from behind the reeds, as they had dulled the glare of the torches on the night of the little prince's wedding. The tender green of the reeds themselves, the intense blue of the lake, the beryl of the flashing king-fishers and the blinding ripples spreading under the first rays of the sun as a bevy of coots flapped the water from their wings—the necklace abashed them all. Only the black diamond took no joy from the joy of the morning but lay among its glorious fellows as sombre and red-hearted as the troublous night out of which Tarvin had snatched it.' With all slanginess and crudities, as one may allege against him, he has no doubt added to the lore of English nature-poetry the splendour and grandeur of the Indian sky and jungle. The shifting cloud-effect on the Taj is admirably painted in the following passage:—'As the Englishman leaned out of the carriage, he saw first an opal-tinted cloud on the horizon, and later certain towers. The mists lay on the ground, so that the splendour seemed to be floating free of earth; and the mists rose in the background, so that at no time could any thing be seen clearly. Then as the train sped forward and the mists shifted, and the sun shone upon the mists, the Taj took a hundred new-shapes, each perfect and each beyond description. It was the Ivory Gate through which all dreams come; it was the realisation of the gleaming halls of dawn that Tennyson sings of; it was veritably the 'inspiration fixed,' the sigh

made stone of a lesser poet.' (*From Sea to Sea*, Chap. I). In like passages Kipling strikes a more poetic chord oftener than in his verse proper. How admirably he has again conjured up a weird atmosphere of the jungle, everywhere fear creeping through the 'hush-hush' of the heart of the wild forest. No poet of the Georgian Revival has been able to add such a spell to a wild forest:

'Ere Mor the peacock flutters, ere the monkey people cry,
 Ere *chil* and kite swoop down a furlong sheer,
 Through the jungle very softly flits a shadow and a sigh
 He is fear, O Little Hunter, He is fear !
 Very softly down the glade runs a waiting watching shade,
 And the whisper spreads and widens far and near ;

 Ere the Moon has climbed the mountain,
 Ere the rocks are ribbed with light.
 When the downward dripping tails are dank and drear,
 Comes a breathing lard behind thee, snuffle-snuffle through night
 It is fear, O Little Hunter, it is fear !

§ 14. LOVE OF Milder ASPECTS OF NATURE: LOVE OF RURAL LIFE

Properly speaking, the Georgian poets love milder aspects of Nature, and not Nature 'red in tooth and claw.' But we should not think for that reason that wild nature is repellent to them. Though we do not have in them 'many a wild waste and tangled wilderness' or 'the red volcanoes over-canopping the fields of snow and pinnacles of ice with burning smoke,' or 'the high' sounding cataracts, the stupendous cliffs or 'the deep and gloomy woods,' yet we have in their poems a constant reference to 'Nature's wonder of arch-wonders'—her fair animal life and fair vegetable kingdom. It is, indeed, a very significant thing to describe giving the breath of life to a description, what any man going out on any day will see when he looks over a 'five-barred gate' or takes a foot-path through the wood. The bold declaration of modern poets is that meadows, rivers, trees, woods and the common places of nature are their own justification. They are the accepted materials of their verse, and when they deal with them, they throw themselves headlong into the life of that animal and 'vegetative' kingdom. Mr. Davies is more at home when he throws himself upon 'Nature's slum,' he can transform the world

back into the likeness of reality with an image of a waterfall ; all the advertisement. boardings are flung overboard, and the grass and pears, toads and reptile, cow and dog, cat and mouse invite us to the feast of the vegetable kingdom. With Gibson and Blunden we may enter into the very heart of the common folk, talk and chat with them more freely than even we do in a club-room. We would be likely to vegetate ourselves in the very simplicity of rustic life ; we seem to breathe ' the smell of the farm-yard ' or ' the smell of apples stored in hay,' or of ' homely cattle-cake ' ; we seem to listen to the merry noise of the stirring hens, or the squabbling of the sparrows on the roof, or ' the Bound of the hoop of the old hungry Dapple striking upon the stable floor ' ; we enjoy in the stream the sight of ' the dim and stealthy movements of fish ' or ' the casual way-farers on woodland paths ' ; or we may have some taste of the ' muscadel ' of the village ale-house. Mr. Blunden seems to be more of a farmer-boy than of a country-bred gentleman as Mr. Bridges who can make for us a gentleman-like catalogue of beautiful things as,

' Nor more of hyacinth now may drink
Nor spicy pink.
Nor summer's rose, nor garnered lavender
But the new lingering scents
Of streaked pea, and gilly-flower and stocks
Of courtly purple and aromatic phlox.'

But he cannot make us feel the very particular odour in the core of particular things of the country as Mr. Blunden would. Wordsworth could create a ' Michael ' and could universalise his passions and sentiments, but it is impossible to say whether he could give us so many ' Michaels ' of to-day as depicted by Gibson. In his *Summer Dawn* a farm-labourer's wife encourages her exhausted husband to go out with her to earn a little extra-money by hoeing turnips at the three of the morning. While they talk the husband thinks of the courting days and says :

' Ah ! those were happy times : we little
thought '.....

She answers :

' You little thought ? I knew and
Still was happy.'

The allegation which is often brought against the modern poets that they are not acquainted so intimately with the life of the country-side as the 'Lake-poets,' is but the half-truth of the thing. If it were true, how could it be possible for Mr. Gibson to give us the 'vignette-like study of the poorer folk of the country-side with all Crabbesque fidelity to facts and details? How could it be possible for Mr. Blunden to depict all rural scenes in all its changes and in all its details—'barns with sagging roofs,' 'cornfields' 'clay-pastures' 'ale-houses with their particular colours,' 'texture of the stone' 'drinking troughs,' 'mills,' 'small rivers,' 'fish pool,' 'grass-rettles' 'the wild flowers of the downs'—all these purely form a farmer-boy's angle of vision?

§ 15. LOVE OF DOMESTICATED NATURE AND THE RISE OF GARDEN-POETS

However, excepting a very few, most of the modern poets like domesticated nature. Aldous Huxley's complaint against Wordsworth that a few weeks in the hot-house atmosphere of Borneo and Malaya would have shut up from the eyes of Wordsworth those lovely Presences of Nature, and those Souls of lovely places which he was in the habit of worshipping on the shores of Windermere and Rhydal, in its essence, carries an element of truth though its sounds too harsh. It is the characteristic of the English as well as the Irish people to prefer the quieter and calm aspects of Nature unlike the Americans. Hence there is no dearth of garden-poets in England, and the Irish poets specially show a liking for sweet garden flowers.

(i) *Love of garden flowers: Katherine Tynan*

Katherine Tynan wishes to have a 'kitchen-garden' 'set round with rows of decent box, and many other sweet-scented flowers:'

'When the skies are blue and days are bright,
A Kitchen-garden's my delight,
Set round with rows of decent look
And blowsy girls of holly-hocks.

...

The current bush's spicy smell
 Homely and honest, likes me well.
 The while on straw berries I feast
 And raspberries the sun hath kissed.

Take roses red and lilics white
 A kitchen garden's my delight;
 Its gilly-flowers and phlox and cloves
 And its tall cote of irised doves.'

(ii) *Beeching's love for garden flower*

H. C. Beeching is also inspired by the secluded quiet of an English rectory garden. He sees flowers, lawns and garden-ways through the veil of familiar acquaintance, and describes them with a note of less personal emotion than Norman Gale. Truly beautiful is his poem, if not exhilarating:

' Rose and lily white and red
 From my garden garland
 These I brought and thought to grace
 The perfection of thy face.'

In a Garden.

(iii) *Norman Gale's love for garden*

Norman Gale, a school master and poet, wishes to find his life settled in the limits of a garden, a few square miles of the country side for he is content to know that God is Great, and the Lord of the fish and fowl, etc. This is after all, not a new note in the English poetry. Caroline poets had already sung in that fashion. But in his *Song in September* and in the poems of the later period he has been able to reveal a modern spirit, deriving his strength, as he does, from the sweet, simple and enduring things in nature.

(iv) *Padraic Colum's love of domesticated earth*

Though Padraic Colum, an Irish poet, who had been in America for several years, gives us his *Wild Earth*, yet it is not the wild and

the savage earth of the Red Indians, but earth yielding to the plougher and sower:

‘Stride the hill sower
Up to the sky ridge,
Flinging the seed
Scattering exultant.’

It is the earth domesticated to suit the purposes of men.¹

§16 THE STUDY OF NATURE FROM A SCIENTIFIC ANGLE OF VISION

(i) Kipling

Earth, domesticated or wild, is a source of vital joy to a modern poet, who sometimes approaches her with the naive outlook of a child, with no purpose but to derive a simple delight from her, and sometimes he approaches her as a naturalist to study the natural system with a conscious attitude of a scholar. Mr. Kipling in his *Jungle Book* has already studied the details of animal life with the accuracy of a trained zoologist. The habits, features and physiognomy of beasts, birds, and reptiles seem to have had a special attraction for him.²

(ii) D. H. Lawrence

Mr. D. H. Lawrence also sees the things in Nature from a naturalist's angle of vision. His separate treatment of every kind of natural objects from the tree, flower and plant down to the tiniest creatures and worms of the earth such as the moth, the ant, the reptile and the cricket, marks an epoch in the nature-poetry of the Twentieth century. Shelley very carefully gave to his *Cloud* his own mythical

¹ In our latitudes the hosts of Nature have been mostly vanquished and enslaved. Some few detachments, it is true, still hold the field against us. There are wild woods and mountains, marshes and heaps in England. But they are there only on sufferance, because we have chosen, out of our good pleasure, to leave them their freedom. It has not been worth our while to reduce them to slavery. We love them because we are masters, because we know that at any moment we can overcome them as we overcame their fellows.—Aldous Huxley—*Wordsworth in Tropics*.

² After a full meal a tiger is not in a condition to fight; cattle in India move and crunch, and lie down, and move on again, and they do not even low, but only grunt; and if a cow died, the kite that was whistling overhead would sweep down and the next kite would see him drop and follow, and the next, and the next, and almost before it was dead, there would be a score of hungry kites scratching out its bowels; a python could make himself look so like a dead branch or a rotten stump that the wisest were deceived; the fighting strength of a python is in the driving blow of his head backed by all the strength and weight of his body; a bird which looks at a snake's eyes gets so frightened, that it cannot move; the snarly whine of a tiger bewilders wood-cutters and gipsies, and makes them sometimes run into the very mouth of the tiger, etc. *Jungle Book*.

grandeur but D. H. Lawrence discovers a luminous purpose of God in the teleological evolution of things:

'The grey phosphorescent pellucid advance
Of the luminous purpose of God shines out,
When the lofty trees athwart stream chance
To shake flakes of his shadow about
The subtle steady rush of the whole
Grey foam-mist of advancing God,
As He silently sweeps to His somewhere.

His goal

Is heard in the grass of the sod
Is heard in the windless whisper of leaves
In the silent labours of men in the fields
In the down-ward dropping of flimsy sheaves
Of cloud the rain skies yield.'—*Corot*.

But specially in his erotic poetry D. H. Lawrence draws images of nature, particularly of flowers, fruits and plants with a Browningsque effect to reveal the inner conflict of mind. Nature-poetry of Lawrence is deeply erotic. A queer love for natural beauty and a dark passion for body become inseparable in his poems:

'So I come to you
And twice after wild kisses, I saw
The ruin of the moon divinely rise
And strive to detach herself from the raw
Blackened edge of the skies.
Strive to escape;
With her whiteness revealing my sunken world
Tall and loftily shadowed. But the moon
Never magnolie-like unfurled
Her white, her lamp-like shape.'

§ 17. NATURE AS BACKGROUND OF HUMAN EMOTIONS

Most of the poets apart from their objective description of nature, use her as a background against which the human emotion and action may be best displayed. When Drinkwater describes a mild love, he prefers a calm rural atmosphere to set off the inherent emotion against it:

'At any moment love unheralded
Comes and is king. Then, as with a fall

Of frost, the buds upon the hawthorn spread
 Are withered in untimely burial,
 So love, occasion gone, his crown puts by
 And as a beggar walks unfriended away.'

Here love comes in as a king and departs as a beggar, his withering suggests frost-bitten hawthorn buds. How more admirably Bridges suggests the awakening of heart 'to be loved' by the awakening of life in Nature:

'Awake: the land is scattered with light and see,
 Uncanopied sleep is flying from field and tree:
 And blossoming boughs of April in laughter shake,
 Awake, O heart, to be loved, awake, awake.'

Masefield's *Reynard the Fox* is a series of natural scenes not only of the countryside but also of the urban side to heighten the moods that characterise the hunters as well as the 'deep despair' that haunts the fox. Many such instances can be given from the poets of greater or less merits.

§ 18. OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PANORAMA OF THE SEE-LIFE

Apart from the treatment of Nature as a background of human emotion, modern poetry can boast of a variety of purely objective descriptions of the sky and sea. The poet, however pre-occupied he may be with the mild and delightful aspects of Nature, is glad to listen to the thunderous music of the storm, the tumultuous roar of the sea, or to see the panorama of earth and sky while whirling in the aeroplane and scaling 'the unpaven streets of the cloudy golden snows of heaven.' None is more eager for the unquiet sea than Masefield:

'Dancing, flashing green sea
 Shaking white locks,
 Boiling in the blind eddies
 Over hidden rocks
 And the wind in the rigging,
 The creaking of the blocks
 And the straining of the lumber hulls.'

(i) MASEFIELD'S SEA-POEM

In his *Dauber* (1912) the description of storms and icy winds off Cape Horn is one of the greatest things of its kind in verse 'the utter desolation and wild abandon of sea and sky' are wonderfully vivid in the telling. In many of his poems on sea specially in his *Salt water Ballads*: Masefield shows that the Anglo-Saxon passion for the sea is still predominant in him. Kipling on the other hand has written many ballads of the sea in the slang provincial dialects, but he has caught the spirit of the high seas in the following poem: *The Spinning of The Sea and Hills*.

(ii) THE SEA IN KIPLING

' Who hath not desired the sea, the sight
 of salt water unbounded,
 The heave and the halt and the crash of
 the comber wind-hounded ?
 The sleek-barrelled swell before storm,
 grey formless enormous and growing.
 Stark, clam on the lap of the Line or the
 crazy-eyed hurricane blowing ?

 Who hath not desire the sea ? here
 menaces her mercies,
 The enrolling walls of the fog and the
 silver-winged breeze that disperses ?
 The unstable berg going south and the
 calvings and groans that declare it
 White water half-guessed overside and the
 moon breaking timely to bar it.'

(iii) THE SEA IN NEWBOLT

Again Newbolt in his *Song of the Sou Wester* shows that he is no less inferior to his contemporaries in his description of a storm on the sea:

' The sun was lost in a leaden sky,
 And shore lay under the lea,
 When a great Sou' Wester hurricane high
 Came rollicking up the sea.

He plays with the fleet as a boy with the boats
Till out the dawns we ran
And he laughed with the roar of a thousand throats
At the militant ways of man.'

(iv) THE SEA-POEM OF BRIDGES

There is again much of the sea in the works of Bridges, but it is the sea as seen from the shore, 'blue and smiling and dancing or whipped by the wind,' caught in a narrow peep between the shoulder of the Downs or watched from a hill:

' There many a hour I have sat to watch ;
 nay now
The brazen disk is cold against my brow.
And in my sight a circle of the sea
Enlarged to swiftness where the soft
 waves flee.
And steps in stately motion pass so near
That what I see is speaking my ear.'

Properly speaking the true poets of the Georgian Revival have not written of the sea in the manner Kipling, Masfield or Newbolt has done. There may be occasional references to sea in some of the poets, but none is a sea-poet after all. I have dwelt at length on sea-poems, because they play an important part in English nature-poetry.

§ 19. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIETY OF THE ENGLISH SKY

The Georgian poets proper are not deficient in depicting various phenomena of the English sky. Can there be anything more inviting than the *November Skies* of John Freeman when he says:

'Then these November skies
 Is no sky lovelier. The clouds are deep
 Into their grey the subtle spies
 Of colour creep.
 Changing that high austerity to delight
 Till even the leaden interfolds are bright.

And tears his path up towards the topless blue,
Towers in the frosty flame-apparelled mystery
Of brain intoxicating sharp sapphire

Round him and above him—
.....Throbbing in the midst of it
A daring, a defiance, a desire.'

Sometimes a railway journey along the Romney Marsh or Aldestrop has been made the occasion of a beautiful poem. 'A curious study,' says Irving Babbitt in his *Rousseau and Romanticism*, 'might be made of the ironic contrast as it appears in the early romantic crusade against railways. Yet inspite of Wordsworth's protesting sonnet the windermere railway was built. Ruskin's wrath at railways was equally vain. In general, sentiment is not of much avail when pitted against industrial advance. Herein lies, to use the language of Mr. Wolf 'the originality of our time' when all traditions are questioned and challenged. Nothing we decry because our predecessors have decried it ; nothing we unquestioningly accept because our forefathers have done it.

§ 20. CONCLUSION

The vital interest of modern poetry thus lies in its variety and 'multi-coloured rays of prismatic colours.' To those who are still Victorian in their outlook, who still hold in their heart the lingering glamour of the 'Palace of Art,' or still wish to be carried away into the empyrean on the wings of Fancy, modern poetry will fail to appeal them. Modern poetry so far as we are concerned, is not philosophy ; nor it is interpretative of higher truths. No poet now draws homilies or moral lessons from Nature in order to symbolise human mortality or human imperfection. He does not read a parable or an allegory in Nature. To a modern, a flower is inviting for its own sake and not because it is 'too deep for human tears.' Nature is a source of pure delight, and this is enough for a modern poet. 'The wind comes and purifies his limbs,' 'and the stars come and set within his eyes,' 'and snowy clouds rests upon his shoulders,' 'and he sings like a carven pipe of music.' In this age of vast cities when house is added to house and street to street with appalling rapidity, when the forest after forest is replaced by towns which encroach upon country in every direction, it is of vital interest to turn to 'Monna Natura.' A

tree without root dies, and a people withdrawing themselves from the bosom of mother Earth must lose physical and mental strength. Modern life, with all its 'excellent foppery of the world' with all its artificiality and decorum, can find a better home in the natural world created by Bridges, Davies, Blunden and others, where

'The light itself
 Nestles amidst the grass ; and the
 sweet wind
 Says, " I am here,"—no more. With
 sun and wind
 Who can believe in death.'

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Health Clinic for College Students

The opening ceremony of the Health Clinic organised by the Publicity Department of the Calcutta Corporation was held at the Health Museum, College Street Market. A large number of students and also gentlemen mostly belonging to the medical profession attended the function.

Health Clinics have been opened on the floor of the Commercial Museum in co-operation with the Indian Dental Association, Bengal Tuberculosis Association, and also the Association for the Prevention of Blindness, Bengal. Height and weight will also be taken there in a separate compartment and examinations of ear, nose, throat, teeth and chest of college students will be made free of cost.

Dacca University

The report on the working of the Appointments Advisory Board of the Dacca University, which had started its office in Calcutta with Mr. M. Rahman as Secretary, shows that up to July 31, 1941, the Board secured 19 appointments in the employ of Government and commercial firms from among the candidates who had registered their names with the Board. The Board has established contacts with the various commercial houses, Chambers of Commerce, Government and other offices for absorbing candidates sent by the Board.

The personnel of the Board includes Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor (as Chairman), Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.L.A. (as Vice-Chairman), Mr. W. A. Walker, M.L.A., Leader of the European Group in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, M.L.A., Mr. Amritlal Ojha and Mr. A. R. Siddiqi, M.L.A.

The Government of Bengal in the Education Department "have also made enquiries to the Registrar, Dacca University, for a comprehensive report on the working of the Dacca University Employment Bureau with a view to enabling Government to appreciate how far it has been able to contribute to the lessening of unemployment among intellectuals."

At Indian Academy of Arts and Letters

To carry out spade work and make preliminary arrangements for establishing an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters, an organising committee has been provisionally formed.

So far the Assam Sahitya Sabha of Jorhat, the Navyasahitya Parishad of Andhra (Guntur) and the Utkal Sahitya Samaj of Cuttack have expressed their willingness to join the movement. Already the Indian

P. E. N. Centre of Bombay and the All-India Oriental Conference have expressed themselves in favour of this Scheme. Dr. J. H. Cousins, D.Litt., is sponsoring this movement.

Studies in War Economics

"Studies in War Economics," the latest volume to be published by the I. L. O., dealing as it does with the more important economic and social problems of wartime, is of considerable interest to workers, employers and governments alike in the democratic countries.

Since the war began, the work of the I. L. O. has been devoted largely to war problems, and the studies included in the volume have been written by experts on the I. L. O. staff, under the general supervision of the Economic Adviser to the office.

Economic conditions change so rapidly in wartime that, in most cases, greater service is rendered by rapid publication of materials than by attempts to make them comprehensive and final. The present study, which deals with such insistent problems of the moment as the underlying principles involved in the change from a pre-war to a war economy, changes in productive activity, war finance and foreign trade, methods of distributing the war burden in an equitable manner, the Keynes plan of paying for the war, food price control, prevention of profiteering and the place of housing in an effective defence effort is of gripping topical and objective interest.

The last study, an analysis of the effect of war on international trade and industry, with particular emphasis on textile industries throughout the world, should prove of considerable value to Indian textile interests.

Feminine Fashions in Gupta Period

Recent excavations at Rajghat in Benares have brought to light an interesting cross-section of the city's existence during the Golden Age of the Guptas.

The material unearthed, it is stated, is rich and varied and consists of about two thousand terracotta figurines, which include a number of beautiful female heads and busts mostly of the Gupta period.

"Pressed out of moulds they represent the best traditions in style and technique of the art that is associated with the Golden Age of the Gupta Dynasty," writes Mr. V. S. Agarwala, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, in the course of a paper on the new excavations. "There are hundreds of specimens which make alive to our eyes the charming ideals of feminine beauty adored in the Gupta Period.

"The palm of excellence may safely be given to one plaque of four and a half inches representing the scene of 'Asoka Preksha.' A long swing is suspended from the branch of a full grown Asoka tree in full blossom and a woman gracefully poised on it is enjoying the rocking movement. The rich ornamentation of the female figure consists of a very attractive 'channivara' passing in front, pearls around the neck, round ear-ring in the left ear and profuse bangles on the arms and the feet. This piece of art is a gem in this collection and reflects the culture of the age with its emphasis on love of nature and sylvan sports and a general interest in life under the open sky, accompanied by dance and music.

"Of special interest are a set of female heads in which the style of hair takes the form of a honeycomb. This beautiful design of hair locks is extremely attractive and seems to have had international vogue in the ancient world. The fashion was patronised by the society women in Rome."

Apart from the artistic interest, the excavations are valuable for the information they furnish about the Gupta Age. Men and women appear to have used loose robes and the use of shoes appears to have been unknown.

Textual Study of Sanskrit Works

Delivering an inaugural address of the Samskrita Samajam at St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, Fr. T. N. Siqueira, S.J., made an appeal for the systematic and scientific study of the text of Sanskrit works. So far, he said, there had only been among Indian scholars and pundits an attempt to *interpret* and enlarge upon texts, but the texts themselves were never or seldom questioned as to their authenticity or authorship or date or integrity. 'These things were taken for granted, often considered sacred and untamperable *'scripture.'*

A critical and scientific study of the text, Fr. Siqueira said, was a necessary prerequisite to any intelligent or reliable interpretation. This kind of textual study had been done in Europe for the Bible, Shakespeare, and old classics in every language. Max Müller and other European (mostly German) scholars had done some spade-work on Indian texts; and the few Indians who could do textual and critical editing were almost all trained in Europe under men like Lüders and Thomas. In India the current had not yet started in any appreciable sense, though it was urgently needed both for literature and for history, philosophy, religion, art, etc.

Ideals of University Education

Pandit Malaviya. Rector of the Benares Hindu University, addressing the students of the University recently in the Arts College Hall, explained the objects of the University in promoting the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.

It was the duty of every one, said Pt. Malaviya, to do his best to preserve and maintain these two characteristic features of the University. Unless the University carried out its high ideals in turning out not merely men as engineers, scientists, doctors and theologians but also as men of high character, probity and honour, whose conduct through life would show that they bore the hall-mark of a great University, it would have failed in its duty. No educational scheme could be complete without religious and ethical education and he expressed the hope that the ideals of the Benares University would be maintained to the utmost extent under the inspiring guidance of the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor.

Baroda Oriental Institute

The total number of manuscripts in the Oriental Institute attached to the Education Department at the end of the year 1939-40 was 13,965. The

number of manuscripts acquired was eighteen and of those discarded was fourteen. During the year, thirteen MSS were lent to foreign institutions.

By the end of the year, 89 books had been published in the Gaekwar Oriental Series, 23 were in the press and 21 were under preparation. The important publications in the year were (No. 86) the *Paramasambhita*, an authoritative work of the Pancharatra system of the Vaishnavas of Southern India edited and translated into English by Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Iyengar; and (No. 87) the *Tattvopaplavasimha*, a masterly criticism of contemporary philosophical schools by Jayarasi Bhatt, edited by Pandit Sukhlalji of the Benares University. The new publications are of the same high standard as their predecessors in the series.

The Translation Bureau prepares and publishes volumes in the two series—Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala and the *Baldnanmala*—for which purpose Rs. 2,00,000 had been endowed by His Highness the late Maharaja Sayajirao III Gaekwar.

It has now been decided to give a more distinct rural emphasis in the work to be undertaken, the idea being to encourage oriental works with a bias for rural reconstruction in preference to translations so that the series in future may become more serviceable to the country-side.

Both the Museum and the Picture Gallery were re-organised and their exhibits re-arranged.

The total number of visitors to the two institutions during the year was 2,59,292 as against 2,92,156 in the previous year. Students from educational institutions from Baroda and outside visited the Museum in large numbers.

Osmania University

A beginning has been made at the Osmania University to give a certain amount of technical bias to both the graduate and the post-graduate courses in chemistry. A revised syllabus has already been enforced, and every student who takes up chemistry as his main subject is required to work—at least once a week—in the technical chemical laboratory which has recently been set up as an adjunct to the laboratories for pure chemistry and equipped for semi-scale industrial work.

Besides useful work being done on indigenous raw materials in the chemistry department, various types of earth found in Hyderabad are being tested for the bleaching of vegetable and mineral oils. It has been found that one particular type compares very favourably with the best English or German Fuller's earth in its bleaching action on both vegetable and mineral oils.

University Music Conference

The ninth session of the Allahabad University Music Conference will be held in the Senate Hall, Allahabad, on Oct. 20, 21 and 22. The competitions will begin on Oct. 17. The competition forms and rules can be had from the Music Conference Office, Muir College Buildings, during working hours.

Dacca University

The Chancellor's Gold Medal, together with a cash prize of Rs. 250, has been won this year by Mr. Radha Ranjan Bhattacharya, a student of the Dacca Hall, in an essay competition among the students of the University on "The Future of Democracy."

Future Planning of Secondary Education in England

Mr. Chuter Ede (Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education), in a speech in Leeds, paid a tribute to the gallantry of youths not of one class but of all classes.

Hitherto English education had been too much stratified into social grades and had at an early age segregated youths, giving them a narrow class outlook and forcing them to associate almost entirely with those of similar gifts to their own. The secondary school was not free from this limitation.

The Board of Education intended to further the Prime Minister's policy of "establishing a state of society where the advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed only by the few shall be far more widely shared by the men and youth of the nation as a whole." After the raising of the school-leaving age to 15, educational progress would depend on a recasting of our education system for those over 11 years of age. "Secondary education for all" was unsuitable if by secondary education was meant the present academic courses. "Higher education for all" seemed a rallying cry that could lead to a crusade to achieve the Prime Minister's purpose.

Opportunities for the appropriate development of as many aptitudes as possible should be afforded in the same school. Where population made the provision of a common school impossible, all forms of education for the same age range must be given equal social and educational status.

— "*Education* "

Miscellany

TAGORE THE GREATEST INDIAN OF HISTORY

The death of Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941),¹ an architect of the glorious Bengali revolution of 1905, and the father of Young Bengal since then, on 7th August, 1941, has removed from the field of arts and letters, moral philosophy and social science one of the most world-remaking personalities of all races and ages. He was the greatest Indian of all history,² if we exclude from consideration the self-made generals and ruler statesmen like Chandragupta Maurya, Akbar and Shivaji as well as the religious preacher-saint Buddha whose creativities as a human being are, however, submerged in his rôle as an extra-human divinity in the cultural consciousness of mankind. In poetry, prose, social philosophy and paintings, Tagore embodied a range and width, a volume and value, a quality and quantity, of which Valmiki, Kalidas, Vidyapati and other Indian immortals might well despair. His prolific productivity and comprehensiveness were not experienced by any Indian man of letters from the poets and *Rishis* of the Mohenjodarian and Vedic epochs down to our own times. Nor was his excellence, be it added, in each and every field of contributions of any but the highest standard.

Nay, in the entire range of world-thought Tagore's versatility combined with worth was unrivalled, the nearest approach being Victor Hugo or rather Goethe. In the twentieth century no single creative man of his field or fields has succeeded in surpassing or even attaining his encyclopaedic grasp as well as all-round perfection, his Himalayan height and world-encompassing humanism. In this comparative appraisal I am taking due cognizance of the values generated by Dostoyevski, Bernard Shaw, Anatole France, Stefan George and Luigi Pirandello. He was an immortal of immortals.

In all his creations,—songs, lyrics, dramas, stories, novels, essays, drawings and paintings,—Tagore gave form to only one *rasa* or sentiment and that is liberty. Tagore created only one god, and that is individuality. He preached only one cult, and that is self-expression. He was the *avatar* of human freedom, the emancipation of men and women from the bonds of convention, restraint and tradition. His was this gospel of liberalism in its most perfect and comprehensive forms.

In the present context we are not speaking of the social messages of Tagore as given out in his lyrics, songs, dramas, stories and novels. Tagore's essays and lectures in prose are enormous in volume, and their contents are as wide and varied as literary criticism, aesthetics, linguistics, anthropology, folklore, religion, pedagogics, social reform, food problems, cottage industries, politics and international relations. He was a keen debater and a past master in polemics. The current questions of the day constituted his daily food. He has thus been able to contribute to social science in a most realistic manner and with a practical end in view.

¹ B. K. Sarkar : *Rabindra-Sahitye Bharater Vani* (India's Message in the Works of Tagore, Calcutta, 1913); *Love in Hindu Literature* (Tokyo, 1916), Chapter on Tagore's *Chitra*; "Tagore's Triumphs in Teutonic Territories" (*Collegian*, Calcutta, No. 2, July, 1921); *Yuvana-murti Rabindranath* (Tagore the Image of Youth) in the Seventieth Birth Anniversary Volume on Tagore in Bengali (Calcutta, 1931); "Tagore and World-Forces" in *The Golden Book of Tagore* (Calcutta, 1931); "The Poetry and Paintings of Rabindranath" in Sarkar's *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 584-95; "Tagore the Poet as Painter" (*Calcutta Review*, July, 1941).

² In B. K. Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937), p. 579. Shivaji has been called "perhaps the greatest Hindu of all ages."

His controversy with Bankim Chatterji was conducted in *Bharati* (monthly) in 1884. He was then only 23 years old. The topic was Hindu ideals. In 1885 the controversy that attracted his attention had the social reform movement of the Brahmo Samaj for its centre. Hindu marriage was the subject of a lecture by him in 1887. The doctrine of *laya* (dissolution of attributes) as self expansion was examined by him in 1892. During the same period neo-Hindu reactionarism was the butt of his criticisms. He condemned, among other things, the orthodox Hindu metaphysics of dietetics. One of his essays of this year dealt with the Bengali language as the medium of instruction. Papers on "women labourers" as well as on the "employment-seekers" came out of his pen in 1892.

These are some of the lines of inquiry in which Tagore exhibited his analytical and constructive talent between the twenty-third and thirty-first year. We are not interested here in the social philosophy of Tagore and need not furnish a complete list of his numerous writings on problems of sociological importance. He was a social philosopher, along with many other things, down to 14th April, 1941, the first day of the Bengali year 1348, nearly four months before his death, when in his treatment of international questions as well as the Indo-British problem he delivered virtually his last great message.

It remains only to point out that the sturdy love of individuality, personal freedom, and moral *swaraj* (autarchy) for which Tagore, the social thinker, is in my judgment a synonym, found definite expression already in the socio-philosophical controversy of the twenty-third year published in 1884. Indeed, it can be traced positively back to his very first prose-essay, *viz.*, the literary criticism on Madhusudan Dutt's *Meghnada-Vadha*. This was published in *Bharati* in 1877 when Tagore was only 16 years old.

It is the custom among the Tagore scholars to slight many of his juvenile writings in verse and prose and even ignore them as unworthy of the great height to which he rose subsequently. This attitude is, in the first place, unscientific. Secondly,—and this is more important,—it is in these juvenile productions that some of the most characteristic individualities and psychoanalytically valuable features are to be found.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HERDER *vs.* CONDORCET IN THE THEORY OF PROGRESS

Reliable statistics are not available in as good quantities and varieties as one would like to have. But adequate historical data from villages and towns leave no doubt that progress is indefinite and indeterminate. It is eternally evolving and does not rest.

Herder (1744-1803)¹ was certainly right when he pronounced in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784) that the highest was yet to be realized. This concept of infinite possibilities was expressed

¹ Leipzig, Verlag Meinen edition, pp. 103, 104, 160, 169. About Bengali contributions on Herder see Manmatha Sarkar's *Jatiyatar Riski Herder* (Herder the Prophet of Nationalism) in *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I, edited by B. K. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1938) as well as Subodhkrishna Ghoshal's *Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul* (Calcutta, 1939). Ghoshal's paper in English was based on a talk at the *Bangiya Samaj-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Sociology) on February 25, 1939. See also R. R. Ergang: *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism*. (New York, 1931).

likewise by Condorcet (1743-94)² in *Tableau historique du progrès de l'esprit humain* (1793-95). The position of Godwin (1756-1836) in the second edition of his *Political Justice* (1796) is similarly acceptable in so far as his idea of progress involves the presence of indefinite possibilities.

It is interesting that this conception of infinite and indefinite possibilities of social dynamics dawned upon human intelligence when the tremendous transformations associated with the industrial revolution and capitalistic economy could hardly be dreamt of. Neither science and technocracy nor urbanization and municipalization, as we know them in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was in the ascendant when such extraordinarily optimistic ideologies were promulgated, for instance, by Herder, the German philosopher, in 1784, Condorcet, the French intellectual, in 1793, and Godwin, the English radical, in 1796. Be it observed that Condorcet's and Godwin's works were published in the complex of the "ideas of 1789." Herder was pre-revolutionary. All the three may, however, be treated as products and exponents of the *Encyclopédiste* rationalism and enlightenment. That an ideology is not invariably determined in a monistic manner by the social and economic, political or regional *milieu* but can transcend the limitations of climate, race, time, epochal characteristics and socio-cultural tradition is once more demonstrated by the emergence of soul-expanding progress-philosophies in the midst of political despotism, agrarian-feudalistic economy, and more or less primitive farmer-peasant ruralism.

But Condorcet is not acceptable, be it stated at once, in so far as he believes that human beings are capable of ultimate perfection. It is not possible to believe that a day will come when man will be without a touch of evil. Perfection is not the destiny of man. While, therefore, in regard to the idea of the infinite possibilities Condorcet may be regarded as having been on right path his conception of human perfection or finality,—to be realized although in some unknown future,—is to be rejected. But, on the other hand, Herder is more reasonable than Condorcet when, once in a while, he declares that evil is eternal and that, therefore, man cannot attain perfection. This aspect of Herder's ideology does not appear to be prominent but has been noticed by John Bury in *The Idea of Progress*.³ Herder "distinctly opposes the hypothesis," as says Bury, "of a final and unique state of perfection as the goal of history."

On the whole, however, in Herder's conviction that "all the up-to-date achievements of the human spirit are nothing but the means to the more profound establishment and wider expansion of the humanity and culture of our generation" we find the common basis of the progress theories of Condorcet and Godwin. All the three are equally inspired by the ideas of infinite possibilities of improvement. In Herder's ideology, however, there is the doctrine of *Gang Gottes über die Nationen* (the march of God through the nations). In my conception of finality-less and eternal developments it is not necessary to postulate a divinity. But divine life plays a great part in the thought-systems of Herder, as of Fichte and Carlyle, the British Fichtean philosopher.

² For Condorcet see P. Janet: *Histoire de la science politique*, Vol. II (Paris, 1913). A paper on Condorcet was read by Prafullaratan Biswas at the Bengali Institute of Sociology on September 8, 1940. The paper is to be found in his *Farashi Manishider Pragati-Darshan* (The Progress-Philosophy of French Intellectuals), Calcutta, 1941, and contains, in addition, the papers on Voltaire, Turgot, Comte and St. Simon. See also S. K. Ghoshal's "Condorcet and His Philosophy" (*India Tomorrow*, Calcutta, February 27, 1941).

³ London, 1920, pp. 241, 320.

The progress theories of Herder and Condorcet deserve specialised and intensive analysis. Unluckily the original texts are difficult to find in India. The few notes that I collected in the libraries of the continent about a decade ago are too inadequate for the present purpose. The sections devoted to Condorcet by Flint and Janet are valuable for general work. Bury's two passages on Herder are suggestive and useful. It appears that the Barnes-Becker book entitled *Social Thought* has had no contact with German and French originals in regard to the pages about Herder and Condorcet. Chapter XIII of this work is extensive and has exhibited the general history of the theory of progress in an ample manner, although perhaps almost entirely on the basis of secondary sources.⁴

The world depends on American library, financial and other facilities for a great deal of scholarly work. I should like to suggest, therefore, that some of the American Sociological Societies or Institutes might get authoritative monographs on Herder and Condorcet with special reference to the theory of progress published as dissertation theses by their prospective doctors. Comparative studies about these exponents of progress are highly desirable. Ergang's work on Herder and German nationalism has served its purpose well.

Among other things it is to be stressed that Herder and Condorcet are two of the pioneers of modern sociology as a general science. It has become customary to commence modern sociology with Comte. The convention is not quite justifiable. Modern economics and political science are started somewhere during the epoch of the French revolution. Rousseau's *Contrat Social* (1762), Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Bentham's *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1776), Fichte's *Grundlage des Naturrechts* (1796), Kant's *Rechtslehre* (1797), J. B. Say's *Traité d'Economie Politique* (1803), Adam Müller's *Elemente der Staatskunst* (1809),—these are some of the works that stand at the head of modern thought in law, politics and economics. Herder and Condorcet, and especially Herder, have exerted the same influence on nineteenth century ideologies as these their contemporaries in other fields. There is no special reason why modern sociology should commence with Comte and not with Herder. The word, sociology, was first employed by Comte, of course. This does not constitute a dominant title to the fathering of a science.

In the light of contemporary and recent sociological trends Comte is found to have been just a "poly-historian" like many other poly-historians of the period from 1750 to 1850. He dealt with world-history, the history not so much of facts as of ideas, sciences and cultures. The *liaison* between the historical philosophy, culture-history or philosophical history of Comte and the sociological science of today which seeks to specialize in sociations, social processes, social forms and inter-relations between the processes and/or forms is very thin. No American sociologist today, for instance, has hardly anything to do with Comte as with Spencer, the two generally acknowledged fathers of modern sociology. Thus considered, the claims of

⁴ For orientations to the Western theories of progress see R. Flint: *History of the Philosophy of History* (London, 1893); F. Tönnies: *Einführung in die Soziologie* (Stuttgart, 1931); J. B. Bury: *Idea of Progress* (London, 1920); H. E. Barnes: *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York, 1935), Chs. on The Origins of the Theory of Progress, Declining Confidence in the Doctrine of Progress, etc.; H. E. Barnes and H. Becker: *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, Vol. I (Boston, 1938), Ch. on the Rise of a Conception of Progress.

Herder and Condorcet to better recognition by sociology would appear very plausible and sound. Indeed, Comte belongs more to the *milieu* of Herder and Condorcet as having chief interest in the evolution of mankind than to that of the ideologies in the Wiese-Becker treatise of analytical and formal sociology.⁵

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE FINALISTS : HEGEL, MARX AND COMTE

In so far as progress is indefinite it cannot be final. Those thinkers, therefore, who believe in closed systems are to be rejected as finalists. Such thinkers are Hegel, Marx and Comte. My criticism of Hegel, Marx and Lenin has been published in the paper on "Creative Disequilibrium in Freedom, Democracy and Socialism" (*Calcutta Review*, January, 1940).⁶ Hegel (1770-1831) declares in his *Philosophie der Geschichte* (1825) that the last word of freedom has been said. In his judgment man is capable of perfection and the perfection has already been realised. It is strange that the dialectic should be closed at a particular point of time and with a particular state of religion (Christianity) and a particular state of polity (Prussian). Curiously enough, Marx, who rejects Hegel's ideological interpretation, still falls a victim to the latter's dialectic in its closed character. In the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) of Marx-Engels there is a finality foreseen, and that is the human perfection embodied in the "withering away of the state" or the establishment of classless society. A theory of progress which postulates or demonstrates the last stage of human perfectibility on the Hegelian or Marxist basis is the further removed from my conception. Nor is Comte's position acceptable. His three stages as indicated in *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1830-42) are, after all, Hegelian in form, although not in dialectic. And his third stage,—positivism,—is, as he believes, the ultimate condition of human intelligence and human bliss.⁷

These three finalists differ from Condorcet, the finalist, only in the period of time. Condorcet does not mention any date by which the perfection, ultimate goal, is likely to be reached. He leaves the evolution open to all futurity. But with Hegel the finality has already been consummated. Marx knows the process by which and the time when it is going to be consummated. Comte is like Hegel in believing that the last or the highest — his positive stage,—has already arrived.⁷ Comtism is finalism alleged to be factually achieved by mankind.

The indefinite and eternal character of creativities, inventions and progress has been powerfully maintained in modern French sociology. The ceaseless and continuous series of a repetition-(imitation)-opposition-adaptation triad is the conclusion of the sociology of Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904). In *Les Lois Sociales* (1898) these three mental or intermental processes proceed simultaneously from point to point or stage to stage. There is no

⁵ L. von Wiese: *Soziologie* (Sammlung Götschen, Berlin, 2nd edition, 1931). *Allgemeine Soziologie* (Munich, 2nd edition, 1933); L. von Wiese and H. Becker: *Systematic Sociology* (New York, 1932). L. von Wiese: *Sociology* (New York, 1941).

⁶ See also B. K. Sarkar: "The Sociology of Creative Disequilibrium in Education," in the *Calcutta Review* for June, 1940.

⁷ F. J. Gould: *Comte* (London, 1920). See the extensive chapters on Hegel and Comte in C. E. Vaughan's *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy* (London, 1925).

finality in Tarde's conception of creative inventions and assimilative adaptations.⁸

While he believes in the infinite possibilities of growth and progress he does not seem to attach as great importance to opposition (war, competition and discussion) as my conception of creative disequilibrium involves. But I may observe, however, that in so far as Tarde's psychological investigations stress the rôle of the individual in progress my sympathies are more with his sociology than with that of anti-Tardean Durkheim, who is responsible for the "society-cult."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

⁸ *Les Lois de l'Imitation* (Paris, 1890) and *L'Opposition universelle*, (Paris, 1897).

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Romance of Tuberculosis.—By Amiya Jiban Mookerjee—with a foreword by W. G. Jones, B.Sc., M.D. Published by Messrs Thacker, Spink & Co. (1933), Ltd. 1939.

“Out of evil cometh good.” This has found satisfactory verification in the case of Mr. Amiyajiban Mookerjee who, himself a victim to the pest known as tuberculosis, has penned a book on the subject of the great white plague. He has described for the benefit of lay readers, how infection is caused, how tuberculosis goes on its course, some of the usual complications and general rules and problems that arise out of the cure. He has discussed the disease and how it may be combated from the national viewpoint as well as the individual, and has thus, it may be said, “gone to the root of the matter.”

The eighth and concluding section, devoted to the history of his own illness, is melancholy reading; it cannot be otherwise; so much promise laid waste! Its inclusion in the book is of doubtful utility, and the author may well consider the point when bringing out the second edition, specially when the book has been written with special reference to those who have been attacked with the disease for the first time—to his comrades in distress.

Much of the information conveyed will be found useful to any one who has to do with the terrible disease in some way or other.

P. R. SEN.

Select Asokan Epigraphs (with Annotations).—By Sachchidananda Bhattacharya, M.A., Lecturer in History, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Pp. xiv+82, with a chart containing the Aśokan alphabet and the Rummindei Edict. Published by the author.

Various publications on the inscriptions of Aśoka from the pen of eminent Indologists have appeared from time to time, which have enhanced our knowledge about the political and cultural history of India during the Maurya period. But most of them are highly specialised studies which are seldom utilised by the young students of Indian history in their undergraduate stage. Professor Bhattacharya has done a real service to these students by bringing out this useful publication on the inscriptions of Aśoka. He has chosen only 18 among them for his study, in which some definite events of Aśoka's career are mentioned. He has done well in thus limiting his scope, for the simple reason that otherwise his effort might not have been of real use to the under-graduate students for whom his work is mainly intended. But it is none the less true that he has shown his own clear judgment and some original thinking in the very well-thought-out notes on the different extracts from the edicts. He has tried his best to take stock of the views of previous scholars on the various points of interest touched by him and after carefully and critically weighing them has lent his support to the one most acceptable. He has been eminently successful in this way in inculcating in the young minds the method of critical study and research. Students reaching the post-graduate stage

very often lack the necessary equipment and acumen to take full advantage of the specialised course of study in the particular subject of their choice. If they are thus initiated into the critical method of handling the original materials, then some useful service will be done to the cause of higher education in our province.

J. N. BANERJEA

Studies in Philosophy and Religion.—By Dr. S. K. Maitra.

Mr. Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, sometime George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Calcutta University, has expressed the following opinion on Dr. S. K. Maitra's "Studies in Philosophy and Religion":—

"I read many of the papers contained in this volume when they were first published and am delighted to find that they have now been collected and made available along with other papers in the present form. The papers deal with a variety of topics and are of a sustained high quality, presenting in an eminently lucid and precise style the results of mature personal thinking and scholarly investigation. Some of the papers appear to me to be of exceptional merit. I specially admire the paper on Spiritual Life and Realisation which shows the philosophical position of the author better than any other paper."

Ourselfes

[I. *The Late Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab.*—II. *Re-appointment of the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture.*—III. *Appointment of George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy.*—IV. *The Kalyankumar Mukherjee Research Scholarship, 1941.*—V. *The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship, 1941.*—VI. *A New D.Sc.*—VII. *A New Ph.D.*—VIII. *Report on the Certificate Examination in Agriculture, June, 1941.*—IX. *Report on the Teachers' Training Certificate Course (Art Appreciation) Examination, May, 1941*—X. *Subject for Jubilee Research Prize, 1943.*]

I. THE LATE SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB

The death of Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab of Burdwan at the comparatively early age of sixty is a great loss to the public life of Bengal. His knowledge of Bengal's problems was deep and intimate. As a member of the Indian Legislative Council and of the Bengal Legislative Council, and as a member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bengal, Sir Bijay Chand rendered distinguished services to his own province and to India. His knowledge of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was recognised by his appointment as a member of the Reforms Enquiry Committee in 1924. As a member of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1924-25, he gave evidence of his grasp of the economic problems of India. Representing India at the Imperial Conference of 1926, he made speeches which attracted attention in England and in this country.

In politics he was an idealist in aim, and an optimist by temperament. On more than one occasion in recent years he appeared in the role of a peace-maker in the troubled atmosphere of Bengal politics. Many in Bengal will remember him as an important social figure and as a man of wide cultural interests. Public institutions and learned societies found him a never-failing friend and guide. He was President of the British Indian Association, the premier Landholders' Association in Bengal, and was for several years a Trustee of the Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial. Honours came to him from Great Britain also. During his visit to England in 1926, he received the Freedom of the Cities of Manchester, Edinburgh and Stoke-on-Trent. The Universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D.

Sir Bijay Chand has been snatched away in the full tide of a buoyant life. It will be difficult to fill the gap which has been made in the public life of Bengal by his untimely death. We pay our homage to a cherished memory.

* * *

II. RE-APPOINTMENT OF THE CARMICHAEL PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has sanctioned the re-appointment of Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University, on the expiry of his present term of appointment, for the period which will terminate on the completion of the sixtieth year of his age.

* * *

III. APPOINTMENT OF GEORGE V PROFESSOR OF MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

The Senate has appointed Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.), D.Litt. (Rome), George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy for a period of three years only. Dr. Dasgupta, whose contributions to the study of Indian Philosophy have won for him the esteem and admiration of every centre of Oriental learning in the world, has lately delivered a course of lectures on Comparative Religion as the Stephanos Nirmalendu Lecturer of this University.

Dr. Dasgupta, who is now the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, is a member of the Indian Educational Service and has long been associated with the teaching work in the Post-Graduate Department of this University as a Part-time Lecturer in Philosophy.

* * *

IV. THE KALYANKUMAR MUKHERJEE RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIP, 1941

The Kalyankumar Mukherjee Scholarship, which has been endowed for the promotion of Medical research and is open to graduates of the Calcutta University, who need not necessarily be holders of the Degree

of Bachelor of Medicine, will be awarded this year to Mr. Rebatikanta Dattachaudhuri, B.Sc., M.B. Mr. Dattachaudhuri will carry on investigation under the guidance of Mr. Charuchandra Bose, B.A., M.B., of the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta, in "Haematological Studies in Nutritional Anaemia in Infants and Children with the Effect of Drugs and Diets on its Course (particularly marasmic conditions)."

* * *

V. THE GURUPRASANNA GHOSH SCHOLARSHIP, 1941

The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for the year 1941 has been awarded to Mr. Niradkumar Sen, M.Sc., for the study of (i) Storage of Fruits and (ii) Manufacture of Fruit Products at the University of California, U.S.A.

* * *

VI. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Nirmalendunath Ray, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on the strength of a thesis entitled "A Study of the Analogy of the Complexions-Fluoberyllates and Sulphates," which he submitted for the Doctorate examination. The thesis was examined and recommended by Professors J. A. Newton Friend, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.C., J. C. Phillip, O.B.E., F.R.S., and W. Wardlaw, D.Sc., F.I.C.

We congratulate Dr. Ray on his success.

* * *

VII. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Satindrakumar Mukherji, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University on the strength of a thesis entitled "The Unreality of the World and the Ego," which he submitted for the Doctorate examination. The thesis was examined and recommended by Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., Prof. S. K. Belvalker, M.A., Ph.D., and Prof. M. Hiriyana, M.A.

We congratulate Dr. Mukherji on his success.

VIII. REPORT ON THE CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION IN AGRICULTURE,
JUNE, 1941

4 candidates were registered for this examination, of whom all passed, 2 being placed in Class I and 2 in Class II. The percentage of passes was 100.

* * *

IX. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE COURSE
(ART APPRECIATION) EXAMINATION, MAY, 1941

10 candidates were registered for this examination, of whom 9 passed. Of the successful candidates, 2 passed with distinction. The percentage of passes was 90.

* * *

X. SUBJECT FOR JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE, 1943

The following subjects have been chosen for the above Prize in Arts and Science for the year 1943:—

Arts—History of the Calcutta University.

Science—The life-history, breeding and rearing of any edible fresh water fish of Bengal tanks.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Kamala Lectures, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L.,
Vidyaratna. D/Demy 16mo pp. 119 + ix. Re. 1-8.

Dakshinatya, by Mr. Lalitkumar Chatterji. D/F'Cap. 8vo
pp. 174. Re. 1-0.

A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions, by Dr. Bimala
Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 140 + vi.
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Rabindra Sahityer Bhumika, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray,
M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib., F.L.A. Royal 8vo pp.
490 + 15. Rs. 3-0.

Khandakhadyaka, an Astronomical Treatise by Brahma-
gupta, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
Royal 8vo pp. 168 + x. Rs. 2-8.

Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenian Emperors, by
Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp.
290 + xi. Rs. 3.

The History of Indian Labour Legislation (*Readership
Lectures*), by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
D/Demy 16mo pp. 378 + xv + 11. Rs. 3-8.

Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and Other Papers, by
Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. Demy
8vo pp. 226 + ix. Rs. 2-0.

Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures*, 1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 204 + x. Rs. 3-0.

Dharma Sadhana, by Sm. Swarna Prabha Sen, B.A., B.T. Demy 8vo pp. 113 + 9. Re. 1.

Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Mr. Charuchandra Datta, I.C.S. (Retd.). Demy 8vo pp. 373 + 4. Rs. 1-12.

Hegeler Darsanik Matabad, by Mr. Nagendranath Sen-gupta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 98 + 13. Re. 1-0.

Buddhi-o-Bodhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 78. As. 8.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198. Re. 1-0.

Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 668. Re. 1-0.

Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 426. Rs. 2-0.

Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh. Demy 8vo pp. 262. Rs. 3-0.

Sarirakamimansa Bhasyavartika, Part I (Asutosh Sanskrit Series, No. I), edited by Vedantavisarad MM. Ananta-krishna Sastri and Pandit Ashokanath Bhattacharyya, Vedantatirtha, Sastri, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 443 + lxxviii. Rs. 5-0.

Krishna Kanter Will, by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. D/Demy 16mo pp. 240.

Nyayamanjari, Part II, by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis. Royal 8vo. pp. 204.

Din-i-Ilahi, by Mr. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L., P.R.S. Demy 8vo pp. 480.

Books in the Press

SEPTEMBER, 1941

1. Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Philosophical Essays, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1940.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. Khawja Hasan of Delhi, by Mr. S. K. Rahaman, M.A.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Negative Fact: Negation and Truth, by Dr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.
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16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Prachin Bangla Patra Sankalan, edited by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt.
19. Prohibitions in the Kali Age, by Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharyya.

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42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, II and III, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
45. Rasekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
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54. Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, by Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ph.D.
55. Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods, by Dr. Dinesh-chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. Jiban Maitrer Padmā Puran, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. University Question Papers, 1938 and 1939.
58. Calendar Part II, 1929, Supplement, 1938 and 1939.
59. Sakta Padavali, by Mr. Amarendranath Ray.
60. Shee Bhaktisandarbhā, edited by Pandit Radharaman Goswami, Vedantabhushan and Pandit Krishnagopal Goswami, Sastri, Smṛiti-Mimāṃsā-tīrthā, M.A.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

The Aryan Trail in Iran and India, by Nagendranath Ghose, M.A., B.L. *Demy 8vo pp. 347. Rs. 3-8.*

The matters investigated in this book formed the subject of a course of University Extension Lectures which the author delivered in the Department of Anthropology of this University. This is a naturalistic study of the Vedic hymns and the Avesta.

Pragaitihasik Mahenjo Daro (*in Bengali*), by Kunjagovinda Goswami, M.A. *Demy 8vo pp. 186. Rs. 2-8. (Out of print). Revised edition under preparation.*

(For details see Catalogue of books in Bengali.)

Cultural Relations between India and Java (*Readership Lectures*), by A. J. Bernet Kempers, Ph.D. *Demy 8vo pp. 35 As. 8.*

Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. (Cal.), Dr. Lett. et Phil. (Leiden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.). *Royal 8vo pp. xv + 116. Profused illustrated. Rs. 2-0.*

Attempts have been made in this book to explain one of the many aspects of the culture-complex of early Indo-Burmese history; at the same time it seeks to initiate another chapter in the history of the expansion of Indian religions and culture outside India's natural geographical boundaries.

The subject is but little known, and very little has so far been done to elucidate the vague general ideas that exist today amongst scholars about it. A large number of original sources and source-materials have here been brought to light for the first time; there will be found many instances where new interpretations of old materials have been put forward. Thus the author has been able to infer the prevalence of the Sarvastivada in Old Prome, the definite existence of Mahayanist and Tantrik

texts in the monastic libraries of Upper Burma, and of hitherto unrecognised representations of gods and goddesses belonging to the Mahāyāna and its allied pantheons.

"... your work is far in advance of mine....."—G. E. Harvey, I.C.S. (ret'd.), Professor of Burmese, Oxford University, and author of *History of Burma*.

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